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SCIENCE IN AN ENCHANTED WORLD

PHILOSOPHY AND WITCHCRAFT IN THE
WORK OF JOSEPH GLANVILL

Julie Davies



Science in an Enchanted World

Best known as the *Saducismus triumphatus* (1681), Joseph Glanvill's book on witchcraft is among the most frequently published from the seventeenth century, and its arguments for the reality of diabolic witchcraft elicited passionate responses from critics and supporters alike. Davies untangles the intricate development of this text and explores how Glanvill's roles as theologian, philosopher and advocate for the Royal Society of London converge in its pages. Glanvill's broader philosophical method and unique approach to the supernatural provide a case study that enables the exploration of the interaction between the rise of experimental science and changing attitudes to witchcraft.

Dr Julie Davies is a Research Assistant at the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions at the University of Melbourne.

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Julie Davies

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A Note on Citations

Abbreviations

Bad. Mun.	Badminton Estate, Badminton Muniments Room
BL	British Library
DNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (2004 edition)
FRS	Fellow of the Royal Society
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (1889 edition)
PVH	poisonous vapours hypothesis
RS	Royal Society
SPR	Society for Psychical Research

Glanvill's Works

To ensure it is always clear which edition of Glanvill's given work is being referenced at any given time, the following referencing system has been devised. This system should avoid confusion over different paginations in various printings and facilitate the demonstration of comparative arguments across multiple editions of Glanvill's works.

The section of the bibliography listing Glanvill's works has been organised chronologically to facilitate looking up the full details for these abbreviated references.

The page numbering in several editions of Glanvill's works often restarts several times. For example, in some of his essay collections, the page numbering for some essays will restart at page 1. Where this is the case, the number of times the page numbering has started at 1 has been included in brackets after the page number. If there is no such number in brackets after the page number, then the reference is to the first or only page numbering in that printing.

Title Abbreviation_Wing Number_Page Number(Page Numbering)

Example 1: ST81_WingG822_23.

This reference is to the *Saducismus triumphatus*, 1681 edition, Wing number G822, page 23 in the first page numbering.

Example 2: ST81_WingG822_23(3).

This reference is to the *Saducismus triumphatus*, 1681 edition, Wing number G822, page 23 in the third page numbering.

As the fourth edition of Glanvill's book on witches, that is the second printing of 1688 entitled *A Blow at Modern Sadducism* (Wing G800), was the most complete edition produced in Glanvill's lifetime, I have used this edition when making general references from the work which do not have temporal implications.

When referring to the *Lux orientalis*, first published in 1662, I have used the posthumous edition published by Henry More in 1682. No changes have been made to Glanvill's text; however the posthumous edition contains annotations by Henry More and an additional preface by James Collins, the publisher. Using this edition for references has almost entirely eliminated the need to reference multiple versions of this work.

In Glanvill's collections of essays or sermons, I have, for ease of reference, included the essay or sermon number in place of a volume number. However, as headers are not always included and not every essay restarts its numbering at page 1, I have also retained the page numbering in brackets after the page number, as above.

Title Abbreviation_Wing Number_Page Number(Page Numbering)

Example 1: Essays76_WingG809_II:40.

Reference to *Essays on Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion*, 1676 edition, Wing number G809, Essay Two, page 40, first page numbering.

Example 2: Essays76_WingG809_III:20(2).

Reference to *Essays on Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion*, 1676 edition, Wing number G809, Essay Three, page 20, second page numbering.

Wing numbers have been attributed as per the versions available in the Early English Books Online (EEBO) database.

For eighteenth-century editions where no Wing number has been allocated, this element has been omitted from the abbreviation.

Recto and verso have been included in signature numbers and written out in full when necessary to avoid ambiguity.

Correspondence

As a large amount of correspondence has been used throughout this work, from both manuscript and published collections, the following abbreviated references have been devised. A list confirming the full details of the

collection from which the letter has been referenced has been provided at the start of the bibliography.

For Manuscript References:

Author-Recipient_Date_Manuscript Number: Folio Number.

Example: Glanvill-Baxter_4/8/1662_1:fol.174.

Reference to Joseph Glanvill to Richard Baxter, 4 August 1662.
Dr Williams's Library. *Baxter Letters* vol.1:fol.174.

For Items from Printed Collections:

Author-Recipient_Date_Volume: Page Number.

Example: Boyle-Oldenburg_29/12/1667_3:389.

Reference to Robert Boyle to Henry Oldenburg, 29 December 1667 in Robert Boyle, *The Correspondence of Robert Boyle. Electronic Edition*, ed. Michael Hunter, Antonio Clericuzio, and Lawrence Princip (Charlottesville; London; Vermont: InteLex, 2004), 3:389.

Square brackets have been used, as per convention, to indicate when the date is not given in full on the letter but has been suggested based on content.

General Notes

Some titles of modern works have been shortened in footnote references. Where this is the case, the full titles have been given in the bibliography.

For early modern works, some bibliographical entries remain shortened as per convention.



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Introduction

In the last weeks of October 1680, the friends and family of Joseph Glanvill, Rector of the Abbey at Bath and Fellow of the Royal Society of London, gathered around him in support, as a sudden fever drained him of his vitality. Having made arrangements for his young family a month before, Glanvill's mind now turned to his intellectual legacy.¹ Glanvill had established himself as a successful, if controversial, author in multiple disciplines very early in his career, and by 1665 he was endeavouring to apply the principles of experimental philosophy to metaphysical issues through his investigations into witchcraft and supernatural phenomena. He had risen to the position of Chaplain in Ordinary to Charles II; secured the support of influential patrons; and actively engaged with other Fellows of the Royal Society in promotion of the Society's methods and aims, and in robust debates about the existence of witchcraft.

As Glanvill approached his death, he professed again his firm belief in the “super”-natural realm, the realm of souls and spirits and, more simply, the parts of the natural world that exist beyond the capacity of our senses to perceive them. Then, with the help of his ‘intimate friend Mr. Thomas Alcock’, he laid out his intentions for his “Collection of Relations”. The Collection was to contain a small but compelling selection of rigorously investigated testimonial accounts of recent supernatural events involving spirits, apparitions, demons and witchcraft. The relations were intended, generally, as a preliminary natural history of supernatural events. Specifically, they were intended to support Glanvill's belief in witchcraft and provide a basis for the development of testable hypotheses about how demons and witches interacted with the material world. The Collection of Relations represented a significant step towards Glanvill's goal of a scientific study of “super”-natural phenomena.

After his death, the relations were compiled by Glanvill's friend and correspondent, the Cambridge Platonist, Henry More, and appended, as requested, to his ‘Letter of Witchcraft’, that is the letter Glanvill first published as *A Philosophical Endeavour towards the Defence of the Being of Witches and Apparitions, in a Letter to Robert Hunt, Esquire*, in 1666.² The Letter, as I shall refer to this section of the work, contained Glanvill's core

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ideas about witchcraft and functioned as the theoretical component of all future editions of his work on witchcraft. In Glanvill's lifetime the Letter was best known by the title of the third and fourth editions, *A Blow at Modern Sadducism*. But the posthumous edition, titled *Saducismus triumphatus* (Figure 0.1), became even more famous as one of the most frequently published works on the question of witchcraft to emerge from the seventeenth century.

The *Saducismus* engages with a problem that was theologically, politically and intellectually significant throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century. During this period, European society debated the existence of a society of witches who were in league with the Devil and purportedly working with him towards the destruction of the Christian world. Foremost, the validity of the evidence typically brought against witches was called into question and with that, the judiciary's ability to try them with any degree of certainty. This doubt is reflected in an overall decline in the number of successful witchcraft prosecutions during the latter half of the seventeenth century. In this context, Glanvill's attempt to apply an experimental method to the question of witchcraft, given weight by his authority as an advocate for the Royal Society of London,³ contributed to the work's enduring influence. Similarly, the convergence of theological, metaphysical and natural philosophical ideas within the *Saducismus* made the work interesting to a wide-ranging audience. Glanvill's eclectic, multifaceted approach to the study of witchcraft also means that the *Saducismus* provides modern readers with an excellent opportunity to explore how changing ideas about the production of reliable knowledge (epistemology) and the workings of the universe (cosmology) influenced changing attitudes to witchcraft in this period.

Glanvill was active in England between 1660 and 1680, in a politically, intellectually and religiously charged time of intense debate, societal change, suspicion and regulation. The Restoration of 1660 had effects which rippled through every layer of life in England. Power and influence shifted from the Parliamentarians who supported Cromwell back to the Royalists and those who made convincing shows of loyalty to the new king. With his accession to the throne, Charles II also resumed his position at the head of the Anglican Church, reinforcing the ties between religious doctrine and notions of royal power and authority.

As a result of this upheaval English society was haunted by mistrust and suspicion, and its fears were fuelled further by disasters such as the Great Plague of London (1665–1666) and the Great Fire of 1666. The fear of conspiracy was exemplified by ongoing accusations of Catholicism and Parliamentary sympathies, and fears of new plots against the king. These included the famous, albeit imagined, Popish Plot of 1678 in which Glanvill's patron, Henry Somerset, then the third Marquess of Worcester, was temporarily embroiled. Official demonstrations of allegiance and conformity were required, for example through the 1662 Act of Uniformity. The Act required clergymen to swear to adhere to the official Church practices

Saducismus Triumphatus:
OR,
Full and Plain EVIDENCE
Concerning
WITCHES
AND
APPARITIONS.

In Two P A R T S.
The First treating of their
P O S S I B I L I T Y,
The Second of their Real
E X I S T E N C E.

By *Joseph Glanvil* late Chaplain in Ordinary to
his Majesty, and Fellow of the Royal Society.

With a Letter of Dr. *HENRY MORE*
on the same Subject.

And an Authentick, but wonderful, story of certain *Swedish*
Witches; done into English by *Anth. Horneck*,
Preacher at the *Savoy*.

LONDON: Printed for *J. Collins* at his Shop under the Temple-
Church, and *S. Lownds* at his Shop by the Savoy-gate, 1681.

Figure 0.1 Title Page to Joseph Glanvill's *Saducismus triumphatus* (1681), Wing G822.
Source: Wellcome Collection. CC BY.

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as proscribed by the Church of England and *Book of Common Prayer* in order to earn (or retain) their right to preach on English soil.

Intellectual pursuits were also targeted in this emotionally charged environment, and advocates of the new science were regularly accused of seeking to diminish the authority of the Church, and the monarch with it. Accusations of atheism (disbelief in God) and Sadducism (disbelief in all spiritual creatures and, by extension, the immortality of the soul) were rampant at this time. Sadducism, by challenging several fundamental components of the Christian universe and Church doctrine, was considered a belief that would inevitably lead to atheism, the rejection of religion and the erosion of the divine authority of the English monarch. Accusations of Sadducism were levelled against materialists like Thomas Hobbes who directly questioned the ability of spirits to interact with the material world, if not their existence. The same charges were made against less radical thinkers including the early Fellows of the Royal Society. These early scientists were thought to promote Sadducism through their empiricism and experimental philosophy, through their emphasis on the observation of the material world.

In this context, Charles II's endorsement of the Royal Society of London was controversial and the Society struggled to maintain its revenue and good reputation in the early decades of its existence.⁴ Defending the usefulness of their discoveries through propagandistic works such as Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* (1667) and Glanvill's *Plus ultra* (1668) was one way the Society sought to validate its existence. Glanvill's defence of the Society against accusations of atheism made by vocal and influential critics, such as Thomas White, Robert South, Meric Casaubon, Robert Crosse and Henry Stubbe, was another.

Glanvill's refutation of atheism had multiple facets. He argued that experimental philosophy was a valid and effective means of studying the Book of Nature as God intended us to do. He claimed that scientific training developed skills that enabled people to read the Bible more discerningly, thus enabling them to be confident in significant elements of their faith, and tolerant of differing views on less important matters. Furthermore, he maintained that training in the experimental method, specifically as advocated by the Royal Society, enabled people to master their emotions and resist the temptations of melancholy and enthusiasm.

For Glanvill, the experimental method of the Royal Society was more than just a defence against the melancholy which made people more susceptible to the manipulations of the Devil. In seeking to apply the Royal Society's experimental method to the study of witchcraft, Glanvill sought to show that science was not only compatible with religion, but that it could ultimately prove the truth of many Christian doctrines. For in verifying the existence of witchcraft and demonstrating how witches and their spirit collaborators achieved their ends, science would simultaneously prove two important points. It would prove the existence of the "super"-natural realm, the part of the world that is the natural home to spirits, demons, angels and

souls, and it would demonstrate that spirits could act in and influence the material world. Achieving this would provide significant evidence in support of fundamental Christian doctrines, reinforcing not only the authority of the Church, but the authority of the divinely ordained monarch.

When Glanvill used the term witchcraft, he was referring to something more sinister than traditional herbalism, the use of charms, occult science or astrology—although access to rare knowledge and knowledge of the hidden properties of Nature used in these arts was thought to be one advantage that witches could obtain with the aid of their spirit collaborators. Witchcraft, for Glanvill, was necessarily diabolic witchcraft. It presupposed a conscious agreement, or pact, between the witch and the Devil and was characterized by malefic acts, including attacks on both people and property, collaboration with the Devil and his servants (in the form of animal familiars), and attendance at Witches' Assemblies.⁵ Glanvill's presupposition that a demonic pact was implied by any act of witchcraft identifies him as a man of his time. The role of the Devil and the phenomena associated with the diabolic conspiracy played only a minor role in witchcraft trials in England prior to the reign of James I and are usually characterized as Continental ideas. However, the diabolic elements of witchcraft became more prominent in English cases as the seventeenth century progressed, as is exemplified in the Lancashire trials of 1612 and 1634, the Hopkins trials of 1644–1647, and Robert Hunt's interrogations in Somerset in 1656 and 1664 as reported by Glanvill.

It is this belief in the diabolic nature of witchcraft, the interaction between demon, human and physical world that made witchcraft a topic of interest to Glanvill and his correspondents. For it was the belief in the interaction between demons and witches, especially Glanvill's idea that familiar spirits infected witches with vaporous substances, that made witchcraft a way to potentially prove the existence of intelligent beings with bodies made of substances more tenuous and refined than our own. Thus only by proving the reality of diabolic witchcraft would one successfully provide evidence to refute Sadducism and atheism. However, it is important to acknowledge that Glanvill's broader societal aims did not generate his belief in the reality of witchcraft and other supernatural phenomena. Glanvill truly believed and believed he had personally witnessed witchcraft phenomena at the Mompesson house in Tedworth.

Between 1661 and 1663 the Mompesson family was plagued by a poltergeist that was thought to have been invoked by William Drury, in retaliation for the confiscation of his drum. Glanvill visited the house multiple times and provides details of the measures he took to discover any trickery and the phenomena he experienced during his investigation. These experiences confirmed Glanvill's belief, and as result we can approach his work with the confident understanding that, for Glanvill, an empirical investigation into witchcraft was a genuine investigation into the natural world. Glanvill believed a study of witchcraft or the supernatural had as much potential to expand our understanding of the world as did experiments

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with the air-pump, trials on blood transfusions and observations with the microscope. However, experimental science continued to make advances in these and other fields, and judicial courts continued to demonstrate the inadequacy of evidence in witchcraft cases. During the eighteenth century, Glanvill and his *Saducismus* became an object of ridicule and a target for sceptical satirists even as he continued to be applauded by fellow believers.⁶

The primary aim of this book is to provide a detailed analysis of Glanvill's writings in order to determine what fundamental cosmological and philosophical beliefs enabled his belief in witchcraft. In order to develop this understanding of Glanvill's worldview, I have taken two important steps that are worth making explicit. First, I have distanced myself from the question of the validity of Glanvill's beliefs and method as determined by modern standards of empirical research. As my aim is to develop a historical understanding of Glanvill's work, I have instead focused on his intentions and beliefs, and the responses of his contemporaries. Second, I have sought to distinguish between Glanvill's influence and the influence of the *Saducismus triumphatus* as a work in its own right. The liberties taken by Henry More in the compilation of the Collection of Relations and his inclusion of additional material have distorted our perception of Glanvill's thought. My analysis identifying Glanvill's authorship of or specific relationship to the different sections of this extensive work is therefore crucial to any study of Glanvill.

Furthermore, my interdisciplinary approach to a variety of Glanvill's key texts enables us to appreciate his work as a coherent and cohesive corpus and enhances our understanding of the interactions between theology, philosophy and demonology in seventeenth-century England. There have been few attempts to understand the foundational philosophy that underpins Glanvill's work in this way. Instead, studies have tended to focus on specific elements of his work—for example, his scepticism, belief in witchcraft, language reform, metaphysics, theology, Latitudinarianism, his Drummer of Tedworth account or his advocacy of emerging scientific methods. The resulting influence of modern definitions and taxonomies has resulted in a body of scholarship that is often polemicized and contradictory. To demonstrate: Glanvill is characterized by one witchcraft historian as the 'ablest advocate' for the reality of diabolic witchcraft, who produced a work that 'excelled all others before and after', displaying his acute 'logical distinction' and the 'cleverness and brilliance of his intellectual sword-play'.⁷ In contrast, a literary historian characterizes him as both philosophically and methodologically unoriginal, and influential only because his *Saducismus* 'appeared at the climactic moment of the battle'.⁸ This latter assessment rests upon the general view that Glanvill's attempts to prove the existence of witchcraft were incongruous with his advocacy of the Royal Society and their experimental method.⁹ Leaving aside conceptions of modern scientific standards and whether Glanvill's demonological works could or should be considered "scientific", I have instead asked whether these works were intended and/or

received as contributions to the increasingly empirical natural philosophy of their time. The resulting primary contention of this book is that Glanvill's work on witchcraft was intended, and received by many, as a genuine first step towards a modernized and methodologically valid study of supernatural phenomena.

Glanvill's naturalized view of the "super"-natural was revived in the late nineteenth century and the Society for Psychical Research (SPR) was founded in 1882 with the aim of learning about 'events and abilities commonly described as "psychic" or "paranormal" by supporting research, sharing information and encouraging debate'. Its claim that Glanvill was an important precursor prompted scholars to reassess the idea that Glanvill's investigations into witchcraft were at odds with his modernity.¹⁰

The scholarship which followed re-examined different elements of Glanvill's work. Some studies focused on the relationship of Glanvill's epistemological method to the experimental method advocated by the Royal Society, and especially compared his approach to the study of witchcraft to that of John Webster, one of the key critics of Glanvill's Letter.¹¹ Other explorations of Glanvill's relationship to Henry More established his Latitudinarian theology;¹² while similar studies of his relationship to Robert Boyle emphasized his moderate scepticism and his advocacy of the experimental method of the Royal Society.¹³

The most recent, comprehensive book-length study of Glanvill was published by Jackson Cope in 1956. Not to be confused with the similarly titled article of 1954, Cope's book, *Joseph Glanvill: Anglican Apologist*, distinguishes itself from other Glanvill scholarship by presenting an admirable collation of disparate references to Glanvill from a wide range of diaries, biographies and correspondence collections. Cope provided an invaluable starting point for my further investigations into Glanvill's biography and networks. Although his discussion of several of Glanvill's works is necessarily limited, Cope also addressed the full range of Glanvill's interests, devoting chapters to his philosophy, metaphysics, epistemology and theology.¹⁴ Throughout the work, Cope emphasized Glanvill's connection to Henry More and the Cambridge Platonists, and being inclined to give Glanvill's religious apologetics precedence over all aspects of his work, undervalued Glanvill's philosophical endeavours.

The limitations of Cope's theological approach to Glanvill is exemplified in his treatment of the *Saducismus* in the chapter entitled "Glanvill, More and a World of Spirits in an Age of Reason".¹⁵ On the one hand, Cope acknowledges the ongoing influence of the *Saducismus* and agrees that Glanvill's arguments for the existence of witchcraft were based on the methodology of the Royal Society. On the other hand, Cope was also clearly influenced by the predetermined opinion that 'Glanvill was not a philosopher' and he focused his analysis of the *Saducismus* primarily on the problematic posthumous editions, and the 'relatively frivolous and innocent ghost stories' contained therein.¹⁶

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Throughout his study Cope displayed little engagement with the mitigated scepticism and eclecticism that drew Glanvill to the attention of scholars outside England both historically and in more recent literature.¹⁷ For Cope, Glanvill's eclectic philosophy reflected his 'abandonment of philosophic harmony' and was inspired by his 'fear of and disgust for rebellious nonconformity'. Such a methodology could, according to Cope, only be rationalized 'as a footpath to salvation for Fallen Man'.¹⁸ In contrast, historians of philosophy have attributed much value to Glanvill's influence in the process of 'finally' bringing the strong current of English scepticism 'into the open'. Revisionist studies of eclectic philosophy have also asserted the legitimacy of this philosophical style as a means of attempting 'to solve the problems of social, religious, and intellectual discord' that often accompany periods of impactful reform such as England experienced after the Restoration.¹⁹ Hence, while Cope's book remains a valuable resource, the assessments of Glanvill's various endeavours have been limited by Cope's underlying assumptions.

Scholarly debates over the nature of Glanvill's relationship to the Royal Society and his success or failure as an advocate of its experimental method have continued over the last sixty years. The Royal Society's tercentenary in 1961 sparked further study of Glanvill and several new editions of his works. Interestingly, it was Glanvill's most controversial text, his *Saducismus triumphatus*, that was republished in facsimile first, in 1966.²⁰ This was followed in 1970 by a new edition of his *Vanity of Dogmatizing*, published with an influential introduction comparing the three versions of that work by Stephen Medcalf, and a nine-volume facsimile reproduction of his collected published works.²¹ More recently, the pre-eminent Royal Society historian Michael Hunter, along with Klaus Reichert and Nicholas Steneck, reasserted concerns about Glanvill's reputation and the validity of his status as a genuine philosopher.²² In contrast, other historians of science, including Brian Easlea, Peter Pesic and John Waller, have maintained that Glanvill's philosophical expositions and epistemological methodology played a positive part in the acceptance of experimental philosophy.²³ However, there has been no attempt to produce a comprehensive study of Glanvill since Cope. The tendency of scholars to focus on one aspect of Glanvill's work inspired my search for an approach that synthesized Glanvill's works and acknowledged the valuable opportunities his multidisciplinary corpus provides to deepen our understanding of the past.

One of the first hurdles addressed in nearly every significant scholarly discussion of Glanvill is the lack of biographical material. For this reason, Chapter 1 seeks to navigate the minefield of piecemeal information and misleading confusion of the nineteenth-century scholarship to provide a reliable and verifiable account of what we can say about Glanvill's life. Based on this revised biography, I identify and explore a series of key relationships and intellectual networks which have had minimal impact on Glanvill scholarship, but which enable a new layer of contextualization for Glanvill's thought, and in particular his interest in witchcraft.

Building upon this foundation, Chapter 2 contextualizes Glanvill further within the broader historiography of diabolical witchcraft and the legal, medical, theological and metaphysical realignment that was taking place in seventeenth-century England. Seeking to highlight Glanvill's contributions to this debate, this chapter also introduces the numerous versions of Glanvill's Letter of Witchcraft addressed to Robert Hunt. Tracing the development of this text as it grew into the *Saducismus triumphatus*, this chapter provides guidance through the numerous printings and editions of the text published during Glanvill's lifetime. It also discusses Glanvill's work with respect to the various responses to it, and in particular, that of John Wagstaffe.

Chapters 3 and 4 further clarify how Glanvill's relationship with the Royal Society influenced his approach to both the problem of witchcraft and his metaphysics more broadly. Chapter 3 contains an overview of Glanvill's metaphysics as presented in his *Lux orientalis* and refined by the Letter of Witchcraft.²⁴ By contextualizing Glanvill's *Lux* in this way, I suggest that we can develop a clearer understanding of the subtleties and nuances of Glanvill's theory of spirits and souls, and his philosophical methods. Furthermore, this analysis suggests that Glanvill's eclecticism and his use of moderate scepticism were characteristics of his work that enabled him to avoid many of the criticisms directed at his fellow Neoplatonist Henry More, particularly by Robert Boyle.

The general contextualization of the Letter of Witchcraft within contemporary witchcraft debates and the overview of Glanvill's metaphysics provide the opportunity for a closer analysis of the Letter as the consistent, core component of Glanvill's work on witchcraft in Chapter 4.²⁵ Building on the work of Prior and Kittredge, I here suggest that one of Glanvill's primary intentions in the work was to seek testable hypotheses which might provide the foundation for an experimental investigation into witchcraft. This chapter also explores how Glanvill's theories relate to those presented by witchcraft believers and sceptics, building on current theories of natural philosophy to modernize his explanations and produce innovative hypotheses. I here introduce Glanvill's hypothesis regarding poisonous vapours, and through close textual analysis, show how this theory is a product both of Glanvill's metaphysics and his natural philosophy.

Chapter 5 addresses Glanvill's relationship with the Royal Society and explores his application of the Society's epistemological method, as outlined in the Letter, to his first published investigation into a witchcraft case. The analysis of Glanvill's Drummer of Tedworth account provides traces of these same epistemological and methodological tendencies through the various editions of this report. This examination emphasizes the important relationship between developments in Glanvill's linguistic style, the application of his moderate scepticism and his epistemological method, to a variety of topics such as witchcraft and his advocacy of the Royal Society's experimental method. Therefore this chapter also provides an analysis of the three versions of *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* (1661), Glanvill's work on the Society's method.²⁶

Chapter 6 further explores the progression of Glanvill's relationship with the Society through analysis of the *Plus ultra* and the following stream of texts in which he defends the Fellows' work and discoveries against the attacks of Aristotelians, Galenists and university men. This examination focuses on Glanvill's debate with Henry Stubbe as well as his relationships with several members of the Royal Society, particularly Henry Oldenburg and John Beale. Addressing these episodes allows me to explore various contemporary responses to Glanvill, both positive and negative, and the impact these responses had on both Glanvill's reputation and that of the Royal Society. A broader perspective on this polarizing issue is provided by an analysis of the impact of Glanvill's philosophical work in German-speaking lands.²⁷

The different strands of Glanvill's thought are then drawn together in Chapter 7,²⁸ where I show how his beliefs about experimental philosophy, linguistic style, reason, witchcraft, mental health and religious practice are manifest in another practical sphere. An analysis of Glanvill's later collections of essays and works that exemplify Glanvill's pastoral care demonstrates how Glanvill's philosophical activities related to his everyday working life. Enhanced by a clearer understanding of Glanvill's relationship with Mary Somerset, as explored in Chapter 1, Chapter 7 offers further insight into Glanvill's popularity as a preaching minister. It maintains that Glanvill's attempts to disseminate philosophical concepts and methods, as well as religious toleration, were highly effective and motivated by a genuine desire to promote wellbeing among his spiritual wards.

Glanvill's reception and reputation is further nuanced in the last chapter. Chapter 8 distinguishes between the impact of the *Saducismus* and of Glanvill's thought more generally by comparing the posthumous editions of the *Saducismus* and undertaking a detailed analysis of the Collection of Relations. This strategy enables a meaningful assessment of the way the conceptualization, writing, posthumous editing, publication, circulation and translation of the *Saducismus* shaped Glanvill's reputation, both before and after his death. To mitigate the distortion caused by the editorial liberties taken in the posthumous and translated editions, this chapter offers a detailed analysis of the process through which Glanvill designed the methodology behind the Collection, a process which involved several Royal Society Fellows including Henry More and Robert Boyle. I here further my argument about the importance of the connection between Glanvill's approach to witchcraft and his collaborative epistemological method by showing that, regardless of whether they thought he was successful or not, readers continued to interpret the *Saducismus* as an attempt to establish a scientific study of witchcraft well into the eighteenth century, in English, American, Dutch and German contexts.

Notes

1. *Will of Joseph Glanvill, Clerk, Rector of Bath, Somerset*, National Archives, Kew, PROB 11/364/612, fols.312r-313r; ST81_WingG822_310(3).

2. Glanvill personally referred to this work as his 'Letter of Witchcraft'. Glanvill-More_13/3/[1667]_2.
3. The Royal Society of London is England's premier scientific research institution. Its aim is to increase and promote knowledge of the natural world. It was endorsed by Charles II in 1663.
4. Simon Werrett, *Fireworks: Pyrotechnic Arts and Sciences in European History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 73–102.
5. I use the term Witches' Assembly rather than Sabbath intentionally. The idea of the Witches' Sabbath was dominant on the Continent rather than in England. The Continental Sabbath was a gathering of witches and demons where any number of ritual acts might take place including: feasting, dancing, blasphemous rituals, infanticide, cannibalism, sexual acts and homage to the Devil (often in the form of a goat). While the Witches' Assembly did gradually take on more Sabbath-like qualities in English reports as the seventeenth century progressed, trial evidence of Assemblies remained less detailed and elaborate.
6. Jayne Elizabeth Lewis, "Spectral Currencies in the Air of Reality: A Journal of the Plague Year and the History of Apparitions," *Representations* 87 (2004): 89. For examples of extracts republished as ghost stories see: Joseph Glanvill, *The Story of Mr. John Bourne [from "Saducismus triumphatus"]* (Stanford Dingley: Mill House Press, 1928); Joseph Glanvill, *The Story of a Languishment [from "Saducismus triumphatus"]* (Stanford Dingley: Mill House Press, 1928); Oliver Goldsmith, *The Mystery Revealed; Containing a Series of Transactions and Authentic Testimonials, Respecting the Supposed Cock-Lane Ghost: Which Have Hitherto Been Concealed from the Public* (London, 1762). For examples of plays influenced by Glanvill's works see: Matthew Arnold, "The Scholar-Gipsy [1853]," in *Matthew Arnold's Sohrab and Rustum and Other Poems*, ed. Justus Collins Castleman (New York: Macmillan, 1905), 123–132; Joseph Addison, *The Drummer; or, The Haunted House: A Comedy* (London, 1715).
7. Wallace Notestein, *History of Witchcraft in England, from 1558–1718* (Washington: American Historical Association, 1911), 285. Cf. Moody E. Prior, "Joseph Glanvill, Witchcraft, and Seventeenth-Century Science," *Modern Philology* 30.2 (1932): 167–193.
8. Jackson Cope, *Joseph Glanvill: Anglican Apologist* (St. Louis: Washington University Studies, 1956), 92. Cf. Marion Gibson, *Witchcraft and Society in England and America, 1550–1750* (Ithaca, NY: Continuum International, [2003] 2006), 228.
9. R. Attfield, "Balthasar Bekker and the Decline of the Witch-Craze: The Old Demonology and the New Philosophy," *Annals of Science* 42 (1985): 393; Richard Jones, "The Background of the Attack on Science in the Age of Pope," in *Eighteenth-Century English Literature: Modern Essays in Criticism*, ed. James L. Clifford (London; Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), 78; Samuel A. Weiss, "Joseph Glanvill and 'The Character of a Coffee-House,'" *Notes and Queries* 197.11 (1952): 234; John Owen, "An Essay on the Life and Works of Joseph Glanvill," in Joseph Glanvill, *Scepsis scientifica*, ed. John Owen (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1885), xl.
10. Society for Psychical Research, "About the Society for Psychical Research," www.spr.ac.uk/ (homepage), accessed 26 April 2015. Cf. Ferris Greenslet, *Joseph Glanvill: A Study in English Thought and Letters of the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1900), 144; Stanley Redgrove, *Joseph Glanvill and Psychical Research in the Seventeenth Century* (London: W. Rider, 1921), 94.
11. Prior, "Glanvill"; George Lyman Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (New York: Atheneum, [1929] 1979).
12. Jackson I. Cope, "The Cupri-Cosmits': Glanvill on Latitudinarian Anti-Enthusiasm," *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 17.3 (1954): 269–286. Cf. Jackson I. Cope, "Joseph Glanvill, Anglican Apologist: Old Ideas and New Style in the Restoration," *PMLA* 69.1 (1954): 223–250; Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956.

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13. Richard H. Popkin, "Joseph Glanvill: A Precursor of David Hume," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 14.2 (1953): 292–303; Richard H. Popkin, "The Development of the Philosophical Reputation of Joseph Glanvill," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 15.2 (1954): 305–311. Other scholars interested in this aspect of Glanvill's work include: Dorothea Krook, "Two Baconians: Robert Boyle and Joseph Glanvill," *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 18.3 (1955): 261–278; Elizabeth Edwards and Joan Waller, "Joseph Glanvill, Divine and Scientist, 1636–80," *Notes and Queries* CCIV (May 1959): 192; Weiss, "Glanvill"; R. H. Syfret, "The Origins of the Royal Society," *Notes and Records* 5.2 (1948): 75–137; R. H. Syfret, "Some Early Critics of the Royal Society," *Notes and Records* 8.1 (1950): 20–64; R. H. Syfret, "Some Early Reactions to the Royal Society," *Notes and Records* 7.2 (1950): 207–258; Richard Jones et al. eds, *The Seventeenth Century* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1951); Richard Westfall, *Science and Religion in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); Jones, "The Background."
14. For example, Cope devotes only three sentences to Glanvill's contributions to the *Philosophical Transactions*; Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956, 22–23.
15. Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956, 87–104.
16. Cope, "Anglican Apologist," 1954, 223.
17. Interest in Glanvill in French and Italian scholarship has been based on his reputation as a philosopher, while German scholarship has also associated Glanvill with sceptical and eclectic philosophy. Daniel George Morhof, *Polyhistor*, 2 vols (Lubec, 1732), Volume 2: Philosophy 1, Chapter 6, §1; Volume 2: Philosophy 2, Chapter 1, §13; Volume 2: Philosophy 2, Chapter 9, §2; Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, 64 vols (Halle; Leipzig, 1732), 10: Column 1577. Cf. Constance Blackwell, "The Logic of the History of Philosophy: Morhof's *De variis methodis* and the *Polyhistor philosophicus*," in *Mapping the World of Learning*, ed. Françoise Waquet (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), 35–50; Uwe Pauschert, *Joseph Glanvill und die neue Wissenschaft des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt et al.: Peter Lang, 1993); Agostino Lupoli, "'Scetticismo moderato' e Aristotelismo antiscolastico: La polemica tra Joseph Glanvill e Thomas White," in *La storia della filosofia come sapere critico*, ed. Nicola Badaloni (Milan: F. Angeli, 1984); Hartwig Habicht, *Joseph Glanvill: Ein spekulativer Denker im England des XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Zürich: A.-G. Gebr. Leemann, 1936); Nicolaus Petrescu, *Glanvill und Hume* (Berlin: G. Schade (Otto Francke), 1911); Charles de Rémusat, *Histoire de la philosophie en Angleterre* (Paris, 1875).
18. Cope, "Anglican Apologist," 1954, 223. Cf. Gerald Cragg, *From Puritanism to the Age of Reason* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), 82. For a discussion of the analogous historiographical dismissal of Walter Charleton, on account of his eclectic philosophical method see: Eric Lewis, "Walter Charleton and Early Modern Eclecticism," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62.4 (2001): 651–664.
19. On Glanvill's scepticism see: Margaret Wiley, *The Subtle Knot* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 197ff; Henry van Leeuwen, *The Problem of Certainty in English Thought 1630–1690*, 2nd ed. (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, [1963] 1970), 71–90; Stephen Medcalf, "Introduction," in Joseph Glanvill, *The Vanity of Dogmatizing: The Three 'Versions'*, ed. Stephen Medcalf (Hove, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1970), xiii–lv; D. W. Carrithers, *Joseph Glanvill and Pyrrhonic Skepticism* (New York: New York University Press, 1972). On the revision of eclecticism see: Lewis, "Charleton and Eclecticism"; Michael Albrecht, *Eklektik: eine Begriffsgeschichte mit hinweisen auf die Philosophie- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 1994), 271;

- Martin Mulrow, "Eclecticism or Skepticism? A Problem of the Early Enlightenment," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 58.3 (1997): 465–477; Donald Kelley, "Eclecticism and the History of Ideas," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62.4 (2001): 577–592.
20. Joseph Glanvill, *Saducismus triumphatus: Or, Full and Plain Evidence concerning Witches and Apparitions* (1689), ed. Coleman O. Parsons (Gainesville, FL: Scholars' Facsimile & Reprints, 1966).
 21. Glanvill, *The Vanity of Dogmatizing: The Three 'Versions'*; Joseph Glanvill, *Collected Works of Joseph Glanvill*, ed. Bernhard Fabian, 9 vols (Hildesheim; New York: G. Olms, 1970–1979).
 22. Michael Hunter, "John Webster, the Royal Society and *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* (1677)," *Notes and Records* 71 (2017): 7–19; Michael Hunter, "The Decline of Magic: Challenge and Response in Early Enlightenment England," *The Historical Journal* 55.2 (2012): 400–401; Michael Hunter, "The Royal Society and the Decline of Magic," *Notes and Records* 65.2 (2011): 103–119; Klaus Reichert, "Joseph Glanvill's *Plus ultra* and Beyond: Or How to Delay the Rise of Modern Science," in *Technology, Pessimism, and Postmodernism*, ed. Yaron Ezrahi, Everett Mendelsohn, and Howard Segal (Dordrecht; Boston; London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1994); Nicholas H. Steneck, "'The Ballad of Robert Crosse and Joseph Glanvill' and the Background to 'Plus Ultra'," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 14.1 (1981): 59–74.
 23. Brian Easlea, *Witch-Hunting, Magic & the New Philosophy: An Introduction to Debates of the Scientific Revolution 1450–1750* (Sussex, NJ: Harvester Press; Humanities Press, 1980); John Waller, *Leaps in the Dark* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Peter Pesic, "Proteus Unbound: Francis Bacon's Successors and the Defense of Experiment," *Studies in Philology* 98.4 (2001): 428–456.
 24. An earlier version of Chapter 3 was published as: Julie Davies, "More Than a Mouthpiece? Subtle Differences between Glanvill and More on the Nature of Spirits and Souls," in *A World Enchanted*, ed. Julie Davies and Michael Pickering (Parkville: MHJ, 2014), 187–230.
 25. An earlier version of Chapter 4 was published as: Julie Davies, "Poisonous Vapours: Joseph Glanvill's Science of Witchcraft," *Intellectual History Review* 22.2 (2012): 175–179. Some of the material from this article appears in Chapter 2.
 26. *The Vanity* was later published as the *Scepsis scientifica* (1665) and as the first essay "Against Confidence in Philosophy, and Matters of Speculation" in *Essays* 76_WingG809.
 27. The material on the reception of Glanvill in Germany from Chapters 6 and 8 was published as: Julie Davies, "German Receptions of the Works of Joseph Glanvill: Philosophical Transmissions from England to Germany in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century," *Intellectual History Review* 26.1 (2016): 81–90.
 28. An early version of Chapter 7 was published as: Julie Davies, "Preaching Science: The Influences of Science and Philosophy on Joseph Glanvill's Sermons and Pastoral Care," in *The British World: Religion, Memory, Society, Culture*, ed. Marcus K. Harmes, Barbara Harmes, Amy Henderson, and Antonio Lindsay (Toowoomba: University of Southern Queensland, 2012), 382–385. Some elements of the published version appear in Chapter 1.

1 The Right Kind of Friends

Glanvill's Biography and Networks

That J. G.[lanvill] should seem disturbed at what is in your later writings is no such wonder. There is required a greater measure of humility and judgment to do that which he is displeased at. They were smiling at St. Michael Armyn's (who was at Bath last summer) when they told the story of the preacher at Bath, how spruce and trim he was, with his white gloves, and handkerchief, and periwig (which must now and then be pulled), and how romantick in preaching.¹

—John Worthington

This famous description of our main protagonist, Joseph Glanvill, reflects the interested, yet polarized treatment he has received from historians in the three hundred years since his death in 1680. In this description, John Worthington provides a characterization of Glanvill which conveys an image of a man who was respected, thought of fondly and yet whose 'romantick', flowery passions and penchant for moderate thought and religious toleration was already drawing attention. However, the reader is left puzzled as to which of these aspects of Glanvill's character was more dominant. Was the tugging of his periwig meant to convey a kind-hearted affection for a light-hearted man with a healthy sense of humour, or an indication that his peers thought Glanvill a joke and enjoyed tampering with his pristinely groomed image? Indeed, these lines and another early characterization by John Beale have been used to suggest that Glanvill was something of a 'dandy' prone to 'Origenian Platonism and extravagant adventures'.² However, it is possible to place too much emphasis on these statements when they are viewed in isolation: Worthington's critical humour in the passage that mentions Glanvill was directed at a group of other young men who were, according to our diarist, in need of a 'great deal of purification', and Beale's characterization of Glanvill as an extravagant dandy was only part of his realistic assessment of Glanvill's potential strengths and weaknesses. Nevertheless, these characterizations do reflect the fact that Glanvill was not of high enough influence and status to be considered beyond reproach or ridicule. These witticisms remind us that Glanvill was a man of modest influence and success—he was not a seventeenth-century force like Robert Boyle.

These comments by Worthington and Beale were made relatively early in Glanvill's career, in 1666 and 1668 respectively. While evidence of some hesitation, these personal quips also belie the potential which even these very authors saw in Glanvill's work. Worthington, for example, after reading *The Vanity of Dogmatizing*, wrote that although Glanvill

is a young man . . . abating some juvenile heat, there are good matters in his book. As one said of the parts of pregnant young men, We may guess what the wine will be; and it will taste better when broach'd some years hence.³

Similarly, though their relationship was more complicated, and will therefore be discussed at length in later chapters, Beale also continued to be supportive of, and often involved in, the production of Glanvill's works.⁴

Ultimately the faith placed in Glanvill's potential was realized, for surely Glanvill became a successful man. He maintained relationships with diverse and influential people, including Henry More and Richard Baxter, who continued to assert their relationship with Glanvill in publications well after his death.⁵ His career went from strength to strength as he attained new positions and promotions within the ranks of the clergy. He was, it seems, happily married until his wife passed away in 1679, and his family continued to grow, with the birth of another son shortly after his second marriage. Finally, in spite of a certain amount of controversy, Glanvill remained a Fellow of the Royal Society in the good graces of two of its most important champions, Henry Oldenburg and Robert Boyle. Indeed, according to John Evelyn, this potential was certainly realized. When he wrote to Glanvill, on 24 June 1668, Evelyn assured him that the Royal Society no longer needed to 'concern themselves for the empty and malicious cavils of these delators' any further, given Glanvill's 'excellent piece', the *Plus ultra* (1668).⁶

In revisiting Glanvill's biography, I have identified several patterns that suggest the earliest years of his career were more formative than has been previously thought. This has allowed me to move beyond the brief correspondence and diary descriptions, and beyond Glanvill's relationship with the five figures who dominate his publications: More, Baxter, Oldenburg, Beale and Boyle. Glanvill's success in gaining the support of these key figures demonstrates a level of social agility which conflicts with the ineffectual figure of fun sometimes perceived in the characterizations of Worthington and Beale. Glanvill's interactions with these five people attest to his skill in securing influential patronage that was thought to be central to many of his successes.⁷ However, a broader picture of Glanvill's early networks indicates that Glanvill's intellectual career was more heavily influenced by the interests and experiences of his early mentors, patrons and familial connections than has been previously thought.

Glanvill's Family and Networks

In the absence of readily available biographical information and correspondence, work on Glanvill's biography has been limited by a reliance on secondary sources, resulting in the perpetuation of a series of erroneous attributions and assumptions that first emerged in the late nineteenth century. In particular, several issues with Glanvill's biography can be traced back to the *Records of the Anglo-Norman House of Glanville* (1882) by W.E.S. Glanville-Richards.⁸ Although Glanville-Richards exerted considerable influence on subsequent scholarship, there are many problems with his account of Glanvill's life. Although not the first to do so, Glanville-Richards evidently conflated two Joseph Glanvills: Joseph Glanvill, Rector of the Abbey at Bath, and Joseph Glanville, Rector of Wimbish in Essex.⁹ However, by accessing the surviving archival resources, I have produced the following account of Glanvill's life and patrons.¹⁰ This revised biography has shed new light on the close relationship between Glanvill's personal life, his very early career and his later intellectual pursuits. It has highlighted the importance of several previously overlooked figures in Glanvill's life, particularly Francis Rous, and Henry and Mary Somerset, the third Marquess and Marchioness of Worcester when known to Glanvill, and later the first Duke and Duchess of Beaufort. Greater awareness of these relationships suggests that Glanvill's patronage network was determined much earlier in his career than has previously been thought, providing insight into how he was able to gain the support of some of the most important facilitators of his career, and provides further context for his interest in both the Royal Society and witchcraft.

Glanvill's Family Biography

We can say with some confidence that Glanvill was born in 1636, and if Anthony Wood is correct, that he was born in Plymouth, for it seems we have a record of his baptism at St. Andrew's Church on 18 September 1636.¹¹ This record suggests that Glanvill was the son of John and Elizabeth Glandvill [sic] (not Nicholas Glanville as commonly thought¹²) and brother of John Glanvill, who it seems was married to Elizabeth Berry in the same church on 25 August 1646.¹³ These conclusions are all supported by Glanvill's will, in which he bequeathed his 'Black Nagg Jimmy' to his brother 'John Glanvill of Plymouth in the County of Devon'.¹⁴

It was not until several years after he graduated from Oxford University that Glanvill married and began a family of his own. The registers of Bath Abbey record the baptism of all three children he had with his first wife Mary, which are all also confirmed by Glanvill's will. Although we don't have the actual marriage record, we can suppose that Glanvill had married Mary [Stocker] by 1672, as their first child, Sophia, was baptized on 26 April 1673.¹⁵ The couple's second child, Henry, was baptized on 17 September 1676

and their third child, Mary, on 31 January 1678.¹⁶ Mary died of unknown causes and was interred at Bath on 30 April 1679.¹⁷ Shortly after, Glanvill married his second wife, a widow named Margaret Browning (nee Selwyn) from Gloucester, later in 1679.¹⁸ Glanvill and Margaret also had a son, Charles, who was baptized at Bath Abbey on 16 October 1680, shortly before Glanvill's death from a fever on 4 November 1680.¹⁹

The confusion about Glanvill's biography has been endemic in the literature since the eighteenth century, ensuring that any investigations into Glanvill's patronage networks have yielded little that has been helpful in understanding Glanvill's social and political motivations. Similarly, there has been little indication that the particulars of Glanvill's marital relationships would be very important in such endeavours.²⁰ However, a more confident timeline of Glanvill's family events, and their increasingly close correlation with his career milestones throughout the 1670s, has drawn attention to the most lucrative patronage relationship of his career.

Glanvill and the Marquess and Marchioness of Worcester

According to Anthony Wood, Glanvill's later career progressions of the 1670s can be attributed to the patronage and support of Henry Somerset, then the third Marquess of Worcester.²¹ This attribution is supported by Glanvill's preface to *Essays on Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion* (1676). Dedicated to the Marquess the year after Glanvill's promotion to Chaplain in Ordinary to Charles II, this work thanked the Marquess for favours given:

as I owe this Testimony to the merits whereby you serve and oblige the Age, so *I should acknowledg the Obligations your Lordship hath conferr'd on my self*: but this will be a great duty, and business of my Life; for such empty expressions as these verbal ones, are very unsuitable returns for real and great favours; and if ever better acknowledgments are in my power, I shall still remember what I owe your Lordship.²²

Shortly after the birth of his third child in 1678, Glanvill was presented a prebendary at Worcester Cathedral,²³ and it also appears that by 1680 Glanvill had been promoted to Chaplain in Waiting to Charles II. The title of Chaplain in Waiting is not commonly acknowledged in current scholarship as it seems that the formalities were not completed. Nevertheless, Glanvill's name was clearly listed in the Lord Chamberlain's Papers on a list of Chaplains in Waiting scheduled for January 1681. However, his name was, unsurprisingly, crossed out, given his unexpected death in November 1680.²⁴

Anthony Wood provides the earliest indication as to how Glanvill became associated with the Somersets, reporting that Glanvill's wife 'pretended some alliance' to Henry Somerset, third Marquess of Worcester and first

Duke of Beaufort.²⁵ When this suggestion is repeated in the short biography of Glanvill which accompanies the 1726 edition of the *Saducismus triumphatus*, any hesitation is put aside and the Marquess is referred to as ‘related to Mrs Glanvill’.²⁶ The only indication in Glanvill’s works that *may* support this possibility occurs in the dedication to *The Way of Happiness and Salvation Rescued from Vulgar Errours* (1677): Glanvill writes that the couple’s virtues ‘inspire all who have the Honour and Happiness to be related to them’.²⁷ However, if the later literature mentions this connection at all, it is usually as a passing reference, or to confirm, in the absence of definitive evidence, Wood’s suspicion about the claim.²⁸

Despite this scepticism, Glanvill was evidently close to the Somerset family, dedicating three editions of his works to the family in a two-year period. In 1676 he dedicated his *Essays on Several Important Subjects* to the Marquess and *Seasonable Reflections and Discourses in Order to the Conviction & Cure of the Scoffing, & Infidelity of a Degenerate Age* to the Marchioness, Mary Somerset. Although the appropriate records have not survived to enable verification of a familial link between the Marquess and Marchioness and Glanvill’s wife, it is clear that Glanvill was known to the couple prior to his dedication of these works to them.²⁹ These volumes contain a mixture of Glanvill’s works in essay form and previously unpublished sermons.³⁰ Glanvill also dedicated the 1677 edition of his popular work *Way of Happiness* to the couple’s eldest son Charles.³¹ The prefaces to these three works have a notably personal, and at times intimate, tone. In addition to openly thanking the Marquess for the favours bestowed upon him, Glanvill displays knowledge of the couple’s daily routine³² and addresses Charles, also known as Lord Herbert, in a particularly familiar and affectionate manner. He writes:

Although I have not had the Happiness to see your Lordship since your very tender years, by reason of your distance in Foreign parts; yet I have heard so much of your great Improvements in Knowledge and to congratulate your early Fame, and the hopes, or rather Assurance you give of being an extraordinary Person.³³

However, the support provided by the Marquess to Glanvill’s family went well beyond his facilitation of Glanvill’s career. Shortly before his death in November 1680, the Marquess advanced Glanvill funds to purchase ‘annuities or yearly rent charges’ worth forty pounds per year for each of the three children from his first marriage.³⁴ The Marquess also continued to support the children after Glanvill’s death in both the execution of Glanvill’s estate and in the management of these financial supports. In the Gloucestershire Archives a quitclaim records Sophia’s relinquishing of rights ‘to any rents from the Duke of Beaufort’s lands other than an annuity charged on Pill Farm, granted by the Duke in 1679 to Sophia Glanville now Charles Gwyn’s wife’.³⁵ This indicates that after Glanvill died the Somersets provided Sophie

with financial livings additional to those purchased by Glanvill, an act that can be considered as evidence of affection and care beyond what is typically expected. This generous affection stands in contrast to the Marquess's treatment of his widowed mother. The Marquess employed legal measures to limit his mother's access to the remaining estate after his father, Edward Somerset, second Marquess of Worcester, endangered the family's wealth in his pursuit of a perpetual motion machine.³⁶ The existence of even a distant familial connection with Glanvill's first wife would help explain the Somersets' ongoing care and support of Glanvill's children. A familial connection would also account for the pastoral nature of Glanvill's intellectual interactions with the family.

After the sudden death of her first husband Henry Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, in 1654, and during the first decades of her marriage to the Marquess, Mary Somerset suffered from melancholy. During the 1660s and 1670s she endured several severe bouts of a depression-like illness, with her diaries and letters giving a touching insight into her internal struggles. Indeed, the 1670s were a particularly challenging decade. Somerset's final significant bout of melancholy seems to have taken hold over her at some point in 1674. By 1675 she had relinquished several key aspects of the household management, including the keeping of household accounts, and was producing very little correspondence. In her biography of the couple, Molly McClain makes a convincing case that this seems to be more than an accident of survival, noting that Somerset writes in a letter from this time: as 'truly my head and stomach are so strangely disordered at all times that when I write . . . I often lose a meal for a letter'. Indeed, her condition was such that the Marquess, soon to be Duke, and several of her friends have left us records of their concern for her health. While a characterization of Somerset as something of a paranoid melancholic with agoraphobic tendencies seems to be an extreme interpretation of her condition and her resulting reluctance to stray far from the estate, this was an undeniably difficult period for the young family.³⁷

In an attempt to overcome her melancholy Somerset capitalized on her childhood fascination with plants and began collecting specimens for exotic botanical remedies. She also often grew plants for medicinal recipes from seeds and cuttings. Then, towards the end of this period, between 1675 and 1680, Somerset's interest in plants developed into something more.³⁸ Under the guidance of her client, our Joseph Glanvill, Somerset's search for a botanical remedy for her condition inspired an undertaking that would soon produce one of the finest living botanical collections in England.³⁹

All three works which Glanvill dedicated to the family between 1676 and 1678 shared a common theme of particular relevance to Somerset's condition. Glanvill not only defended both science and the Anglican religion in these works; he repeatedly argued that excessive melancholy leaves one vulnerable to spiritual attack and allows a variety of demonically inspired delusions to take hold. These delusions could then, he argued, prompt the weak-willed to engage in any number of destructive behaviours, including

enthusiasm, fanaticism, atheism and witchcraft.⁴⁰ Glanvill also sought to demonstrate that scientific training and enquiry into the natural world, specifically using the methods advocated by the Royal Society, could help overcome such conditions. Training the mind in rational analysis, collaboration and evidence-based interpretation of the natural world, could, he argued, develop skills that would enable the melancholic to resist or break the hold of such delusions. In short, according to Glanvill, scientific training could provide an effective remedy for the melancholic state.⁴¹

It is conceivable that Glanvill's recommendation would have resonated with Somerset, who had concluded that her malady was spiritual in nature. In the few documents that survive from this time, she describes herself as feeling emotionally 'dead' and prays for God to come to her as '[her] soul thirsteth for thee as ground [for] water'.⁴² Unfortunately, no surviving correspondence between Glanvill and the Somersets explicitly verifies a direct causal link between the Marchioness' improvement and Glanvill's advice. However, the increasingly academic nature of Somerset's interest in plants during this same period suggests that Somerset did act upon his advice. Furthermore, the nature of the relationship between Glanvill and the Somersets in the lead-up to his death in 1680 and the great favour that was shown to both Glanvill and his family imply that his advice was, at the very least, welcome. Indeed, a letter from the Marchioness to her husband from 1678 described a report given to her by Glanvill regarding some rumours about the investigation into the Marquess's involvement in the Popish Plot of that year. Though brief, the exchange confirms that Mary was in direct contact with Glanvill and that she held his opinion in high regard.⁴³

The fictitious Popish Plot of 1678 saw Henry, still Marquess of Worcester, suffering under great political pressure after several members of his household were accused of being papists or sympathizers,⁴⁴ and in the wake of this ordeal, Glanvill drafted an impassioned treatise entitled *The Zealous and Impartial Protestant*.⁴⁵ In the work Glanvill calls for harsher penalties for religious dissenters who he blames for England's vulnerability to physical and intellectual attack by papists.⁴⁶ These uncharacteristically harsh accusations and call to arms reveal the depth of Glanvill's emotional response to the events of 1678, as he was usually characterized as an advocate for tolerance and known for his association with nonconformists like Richard Baxter and Joseph Allein.⁴⁷

These tantalizing entanglements suggest the Glanvills and the Somersets were surprisingly close, given how little evidence of their relationships and business transactions has survived and our inability to demonstrate how the families became acquainted. However, with the minimum duration of Glanvill's first marriage firmly established and the dates of his second marriage confirmed, we can state with confidence that if Wood was correct and Glanvill's wife was connected to the Worcesters, this referred to his first wife Mary Stocker.⁴⁸ While a lack of records means we still cannot be sure of the nature of this relationship, there are a small number of records that

connect the Stocker family name with the Capels, the Marchioness's family. These suggest that Mary Stocker could have been as close as second cousin to the Marchioness.⁴⁹ This possible connection, combined with Glanvill's particular concern for the Marchioness' health, suggests that it may have been the Marchioness that was Glanvill's true primary advocate. This is further supported by the only known surviving manuscript reference to this relationship, a letter that refers to a direct conversation between Glanvill and the Marchioness.⁵⁰

Investigating the possibility that Glanvill's relationship to the Worcesters was familial revealed an interesting series of connections that challenges the characterization of Glanvill as a surprisingly effective self-promoter. As it transpires, the Marquess and the Marchioness were related to both Robert Boyle and William, the third Baron Brereton, two people whose significant support of Glanvill's career will become evident throughout this study. The Marquess's mother, born Margaret O'Brien, was Brereton's first cousin, while Robert Boyle's nephew was the Marchioness's brother-in-law from her first marriage. The support of both Brereton and Boyle was instrumental in the progression of Glanvill's career, particularly in regards to his relationship with the Royal Society through the 1660s and 1670s. However, as Glanvill cannot be connected to the Worcesters before the birth of Glanvill's first child in 1673, it seems likely that Glanvill's relationship with the Worcesters was encouraged by his connection with Brereton, Boyle and the Royal Society rather than the other way around (Figures 1.1 and 1.2). However, further research into Glanvill's early networks, beyond the correspondence of the Fellows of the Royal Society, has indicated that several members of Glanvill's early intellectual, social and professional networks were more closely connected than previously thought. This new understanding of the level of cohesiveness in Glanvill's early networks helps us understand how Glanvill successfully won the favour of these men and their support in his early endeavours.

Glanvill's Professional Biography

The early years of Glanvill's career have attracted more interest from scholars than his personal life has. His connections to prominent Royal Society Fellows have provided several minor references in various diaries and correspondence collections that have enabled speculation about how some of Glanvill's professional relationships came about. This evidence has suggested that Glanvill was inclined to self-promotion, sending unsolicited copies of works to influential people such as Richard Baxter and Robert Boyle.⁵¹ However, other significant relationships have remained a mystery, with no clear indication of how they developed; this is particularly the case with Glanvill's relationships to Henry More and Robert Hunt.

Despite these brief glimpses into Glanvill's life and stature in the early to mid-1660s, very little is certain about the circumstances of Glanvill's

Relationship of Henry Somerset, 1st Duke of Beaufort, to William Brereton, 3rd Baron Brereton
SECOND COUSINS

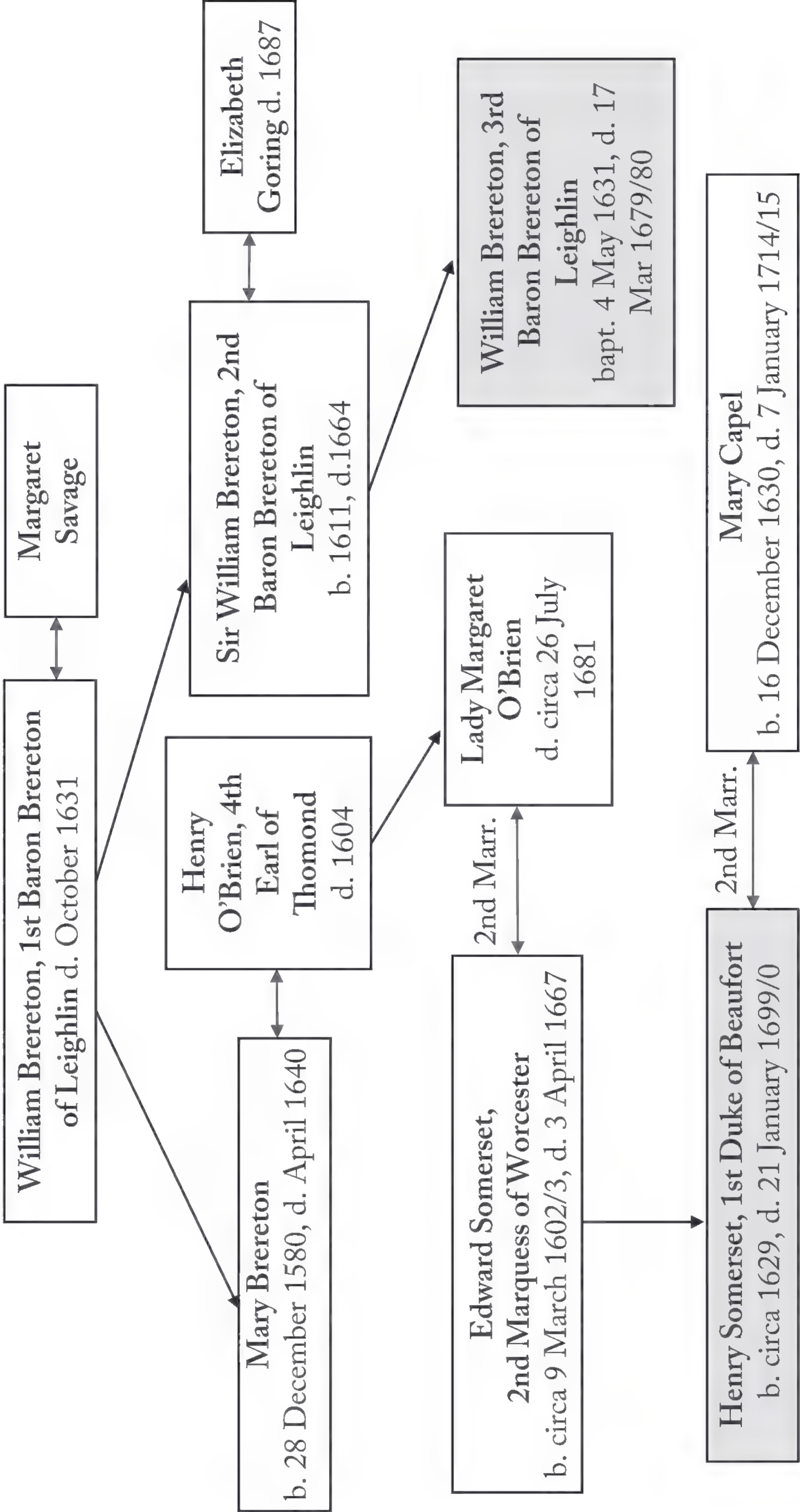


Figure 1.1 Relationship of Henry Somerset, 1st Duke of Beaufort and 3rd Marquess of Worcester, to William Brereton, 3rd Baron Brereton and President of the Royal Society of London.

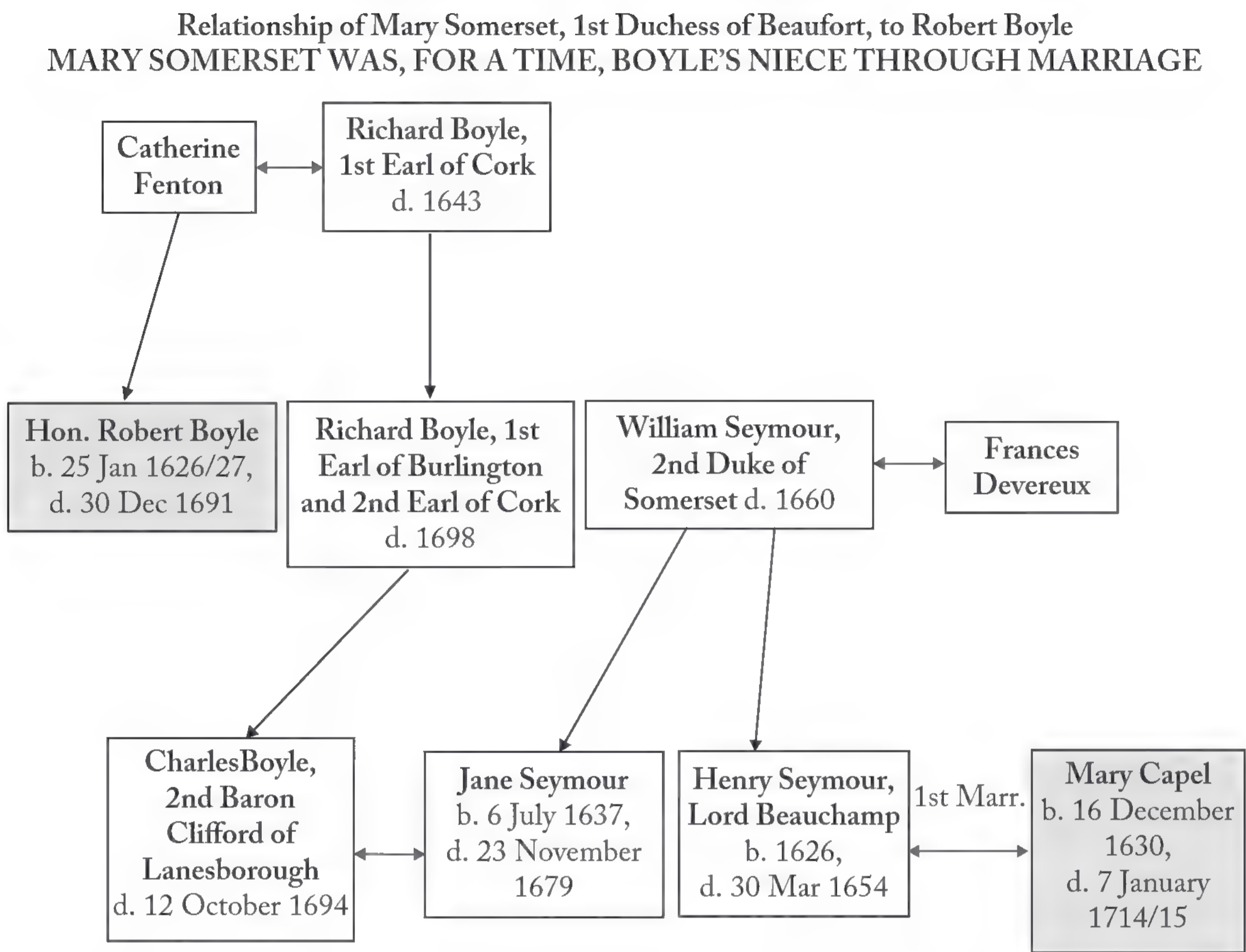


Figure 1.2 Relationship of Mary Somerset (nee Capel), 1st Duchess of Beaufort and 3rd Marchioness of Worcester, to Robert Boyle, Fellow of the Royal Society of London.

early career development. Glanvill began his studies at Exeter College on 19 April 1652.⁵² He attended the college as a Battellar, indicating he had some limited means to pay for his tuition, thus avoiding having to wait on the Fellows and other students in lieu of rent and fees. However, as a Battellar, Glanvill would have still had to serve himself at meal times and pay pro rata for his food.⁵³ He was at Exeter College at the same time as Samuel Conant, a scholar and teacher of good reputation who Wood credits with providing Glanvill with his solid foundation in 'religion, logic and philosophy'.⁵⁴ Glanvill completed his Bachelor degree on 11 October 1655 and no explanation is given for his transfer to Lincoln College in July of the following year. He graduated from Lincoln with a Masters of Arts degree on 29 June 1658.⁵⁵

Very shortly after completing his degrees, Glanvill accepted a position as Chaplain to Francis Rous, Provost of Eton and member of the Long Parliament. Although brief, Glanvill's time with Rous seems to have been a formative period that shaped Glanvill's career. Rous died 7 January 1659, prompting Glanvill to return to Oxford and continue with his study and there is very little evidence available to shed light on this period.⁵⁶ Indeed,

the main evidence about this period available to us is a statement in which Glanvill denies having had any true political affiliation with Rous or the Parliamentary regime. Post-Restoration, Glanvill purposefully distanced himself from his former employer who had been favoured by Cromwell:

Being not related to any Foundation in Oxford, but living there a Commoner, I resolved, as soon as I had taken my Degree of Master of Arts, to remove to London; Accordingly an opportunity was offered, and I was invited to live with M. Francis Rous, as his Chaplain: I accepted the Offer: But knew, and had heard no more of that Gentleman, but that he was a very grave and Learned Man, and Provost of Eaton-College.⁵⁷

Jackson Cope has challenged this convenient account, suggesting it was more likely that Glanvill obtained the position through some family connection. Rous had an estate in Brixham, a mere thirty kilometres from Plymouth; and so this alternative scenario seems quite plausible, especially given Rous was also connected to the area through his step-brother, John Pym. For nearly two decades Pym had been the MP for Tavistock, which was only twenty-four kilometres from Plymouth. Pym was likely about two years old when he went to live with Rous; and as the two evidently maintained a close relationship throughout their lives, this would make Pym another possible link between the Rous and Glanvill families.⁵⁸ Yet while Cope acknowledges some similarity in the two men's defence of religious toleration and mystical tendencies, he concludes that there is little evidence of direct intellectual connections between them and suggests they 'had little contact'.⁵⁹ We essentially have no substantive evidence available to evaluate how true this conclusion is. However, whether Glanvill was personally close to Rous or not is not necessarily the only measure of how much impact this time with Rous had on Glanvill's career. For, as will be discussed below, there are several indications that this short six- to nine-month period was more formative and influential than it initially seems.

After Rous's death, Glanvill returned to Oxford where he produced a number of works that would change his life and shape his career. The first work he published, *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* (1661), was originally intended as a preface to a work on the immortality of the soul.⁶⁰ While it cannot be established that he attended the meetings of the Invisible College, the Oxford precursor to the Royal Society, this work clearly demonstrates that the environment in which those meetings took place clearly had an effect on Glanvill.⁶¹ This anti-scholastic work extolled the virtues of mitigated scepticism, experimental method and Cartesian mechanism, and it was generally received with praise, even if it also sparked the first significant controversy of Glanvill's career. Thomas White, a Roman Catholic priest and committed Aristotelian philosopher, wrote a Latin condemnation of the work in 1663, entitled *Sciri, sive, szeptices & szepticorum jure disputationis exclusio* which was republished in English as *An Exclusion of Scepticks*

from *All Title to Dispute* in 1665. Notably addressed ‘To the Young Witts of Both Universities’, White’s response was level headed, focused and academic, and as such stands in pleasant contrast to the later invectives of Henry Stubbe. Although he regularly invokes Glanvill’s ignorance, he does so under the caveat that:

I [White] am not angry with the man, who, with a great deal of wit and an unfordable stream of eloquence (which will ripen with his years) prosecutes what he proposes to himself, and takes for a truth; not without some savour of Modesty: for, neither does he derogate from Faith the power of teaching its Tenets, nor disclaim all hope of attaining Science hereafter through a laborious amassment of Experiments.⁶²

White also laments that none of his ‘Betters’ had responded to Glanvill in the two years during which *The Vanity* had been making its influence felt, demonstrating that the work had been drawing attention over a sustained period. However, even among its supporters, *The Vanity* did have some more constructive critics. As a result Glanvill revised the work in 1664 and republished it as the *Scepsis scientifica* (1665), having toned down some of the more zealous claims and removed much of the excited praise of Descartes.⁶³ These editions are compared in more detail in Chapter 5. Glanvill dedicated the *Scepsis* to the Society and the manuscript was presented to the Fellows by William Brereton, third Baron Brereton and first president of the Royal Society, on 7 December 1664. At the same time, Brereton proposed Glanvill as a fellowship candidate and his membership was voted upon and accepted in the following week.⁶⁴ In addition to his advocacy of the Royal Society, Glanvill also made several small contributions to the Society’s journal in the 1660s and in 1670 he located the missing papers of the Gresham College professor and mathematician, Samuel Foster (d. 1652) at Oldenburg’s request.⁶⁵

In a seemingly thematic contrast, Glanvill published two more significant works before 1666. In 1662, the same year that he was awarded his first clerical position as the Rector of Froome, Glanvill anonymously published a work on the immortality of the soul, the *Lux orientalis*. Given the timing of these events, and Glanvill’s practice in later years, one might expect to find that this work was dedicated to Sir James Thynne, the patron who secured his position as Rector of Froome-Seelwood.⁶⁶ However the work is instead dedicated to Francis Willoughby, fifth Baron of Parham, in recognition of the ‘delight & satisfaction’ that Glanvill had taken in their discussions of ‘such matters’.⁶⁷ There is no further evidence of the relationship of Glanvill and Willoughby. However, it is notable that William Brereton was married to Willoughby’s daughter Frances, and that regular contact with Willoughby would have provided Glanvill with the opportunity to meet the man who secured his membership in the Royal Society.⁶⁸ Further explanation of the nature of Thynne’s interest in and support for Glanvill is also lacking,

despite the continuation of Glanvill's association with Thynne's family over the next decade. After John Thynne's death in 1670, his nephew Thomas Thynne inherited the Longleat Estate. Then on 26 July 1672, Thomas was instrumental in Glanvill's transfer from Froome to the Rectory of Streat and Walton.⁶⁹

In 1666 Glanvill published *A Philosophical Endeavour towards the Defence of the Being of Witches and Apparitions*, a work that was, in later editions, instrumental in cementing his fame. This work, the subject of Chapters 2, 4 and 8, was written in the form of a 'Letter to the Honoured Robert Hunt Esq.' and melded Glanvill's understanding of the experimental method with theories about the nature of the spirit and soul to produce what he hoped would become investigable hypotheses and a foundation for a science of the supernatural. There has been little interest in Hunt, an aspiring witch-hunter, until very recently, even though one of the most significant works arguing for the existence of witchcraft in the seventeenth century was composed for his benefit.⁷⁰ Several of the relations included in the posthumous editions as reliable evidence of witchcraft were also based directly on Hunt's personal notebooks from interrogations and trials. However, archival work undertaken by Peter Elmer and Jonathan Barry rediscovered a cache of the Hunt family's correspondence in the University of Bristol Library. This collection includes a letter from Hunt to William Bull dated 16 December 1667, relating the case of the bewitching of his daughter by a neighbour Alice Knight. The letter tells a distressing story of his daughter's suffering and pain which worsened over several days, culminating in a seizure that rendered her stiff and immobile for several hours. During the event, the only recognizable words she was able to utter were 'Alice Knight hath made mee guiddy', prompting her family to seek out Knight and bring her to the house. Ultimately, the family believed they restored Hunt's daughter through traditional counter-magic, by scratching the witch responsible for the spell.⁷¹

Hunt had already investigated several witchcraft cases by the time of this attack and Glanvill notes that 'had not his [Hunt's] discoveries and endeavours met with great opposition and discouragements from some then in authority, the whole clan of those hellish confederates in these parts had been justly exposed and punished'.⁷² The discovery of this letter confirms Hunt's genuine belief in witchcraft and gives us insight into why Glanvill would compose such a letter. The Letter of Witchcraft was composed before the supposed attack on Hunt's daughter, but in the context of his professional situation, his failure to bring the witches he had identified to trial, the Letter becomes more than a philosophical exercise. The Letter becomes a political tool, written by an ecclesiastical official in support of a secular official. Glanvill was Rector in Froome, in the County of Somerset, while Hunt was a Justice of the Peace in that same county. In light of this, it is tempting to ask whether Hunt was, in return, instrumental in securing Glanvill's position as Rector of the Abbey at Bath in 1666.⁷³ We know that Hunt

shared his notes with Glanvill as he prepared the later editions of his book on witchcraft, and Glanvill's letter to Hunt, first published in 1666, is the only surviving correspondence we have between the two men. Nevertheless, it may be possible to suggest how Glanvill and Hunt came to know of each other and their shared interest in the problem of witchcraft. In order to do this we need to re-focus our attention on Francis Rous.

Formative Influences

Up to this point, this investigation into Glanvill's biography confirms that on the basis of current scholarship very little can be reliably claimed about the nature of Glanvill's relationships with those with most influence over his career. Similarly, in the absence of any personal papers or clear understanding of Glanvill's circle of friends, particularly in these formative years of the early 1660s, it has been very difficult to determine how much these relationships influenced Glanvill's pursuits and interests. This has led scholars to characterize Glanvill as evangelical, subsuming both his interest in witchcraft and the experimental method to his desire to reaffirm the authority of Anglican orthodoxy.⁷⁴ However, the revelation about Hunt's active interest in the pursuit of witches, confirmed by his slightly later personal experience, suggests that Glanvill's genuine concern for and support of his Somersetshire associate may likely be a more significant motivating factor behind his *Letter of Witchcraft* than has previously been thought. In exploring the possibility suggested by Hunt's situation and the importance of Glanvill's relationship with the Somersets, I have discovered that many members of Glanvill's early network can be connected and, for the first time, suggest a pattern of interest and influence that gives us insight into how Glanvill's patronage network may have developed and shaped his work.

Glanvill's time with Francis Rous may have been brief, and Glanvill may not have been close to Rous personally, as Cope suggested. However, Glanvill's time with Rous appears to have been the first in a series of significant exchanges with Glanvill's other patrons who can all be connected with Rous through their family's involvement in the Long Parliament. Sir James Thynne, Robert Hunt and Francis Rous all served in the Long Parliament together.⁷⁵ They were also joined in the Long Parliament by Arthur Capel (1604–1649),⁷⁶ father to Mary Somerset, Marchioness of Worcester and first Duchess of Beaufort, and several representatives of the Brereton family. Sir William Brereton, first Baronet of Handforth Hall, Cheshire (1604–1661), was a member for Cheshire and the family representative who was most active between 1628 and 1661.⁷⁷ His cousin William, the third Baron Brereton, who nominated Glanvill to the Royal Society, joined his cousin in Parliament in 1659, representing first Newton in Lancashire, then Bossiney in Cornwall from 1659.⁷⁸ In addition to their positions in the Parliament, these members of Glanvill's early network and their families can also be connected through a number of

similar geographical and intellectual interests and they can also provide links to other key figures through Glanvill's career, such as Henry More and Robert Boyle.

First, Glanvill's network group has very strong geographical ties through western England from Cornwall to Hampshire to Lancashire (Figure 1.3). Although Arthur Capel's association with Parliament (he was the member for Hertfordshire) ended when he entered the peerage in August 1641, he was one of the wealthiest members of the Long Parliament and owned land in at

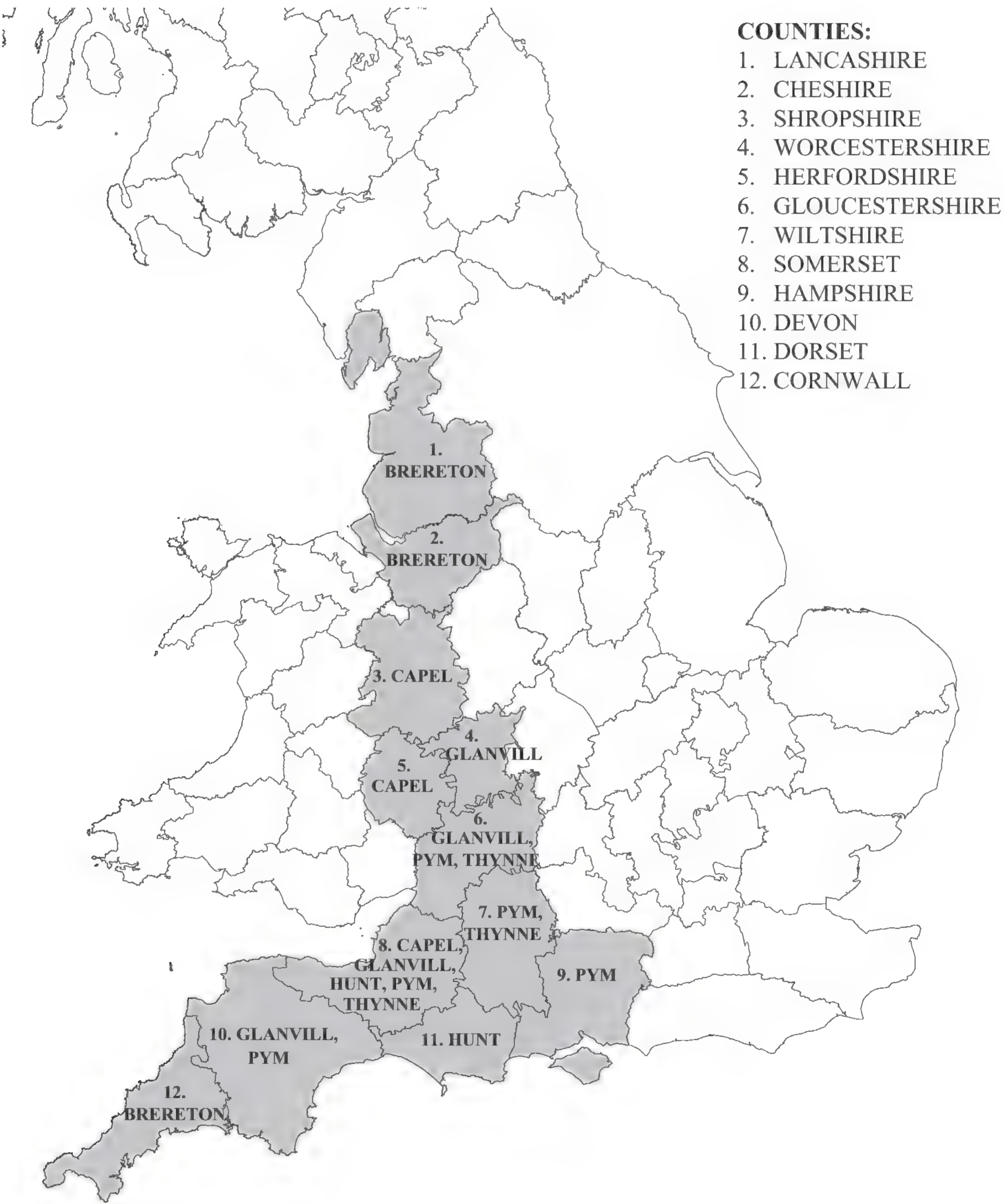


Figure 1.3 Geographical Influence of Glanvill's Early Patronage Network.

least ten counties including Somerset. He was joined in this privilege by James Thynne, who was also among the wealthiest sitting members. Not only did Thynne reside at Longleat House near Bath, but he inherited over a dozen manors and various other properties in the surrounding regions, including Wilts, Gloucester and Somerset. Similarly while Hunt was a resident and MP for Ilchester, he also represented Somerset in the Parliament in 1659 in addition to being a JP in that county. Thynne served in a similar role, as Sheriff of the neighbouring county of Wiltshire in 1660–1661,⁷⁹ while the second Baron Brereton was a JP in the nearby county of Cheshire from 1661–1664.⁸⁰ The first Baronet Brereton also served as a JP in Cheshire from 1627.⁸¹ The group's investment and active involvement in legal administration in the area suggests a high likelihood that these men would have been well acquainted, if not necessarily personally close.

Second, the two people who stand out as having less direct geographical connections to the area but who can be connected to this network through their relationship to other key figures, are Brereton and Rous. Rous can, as previously mentioned, be linked to the area through the extensive connections of his step-brother and close friend John Pym. Member for Tavistock, Pym was also Receiver General of Wiltshire, Hampshire and Gloucestershire. He also owned 'large and scattered holdings in Somerset' in addition to his properties in other areas. Pym was also evidently well acquainted with Thynne, coming to his defence when Thynne was accused of disloyalty in 1643. Concerns about Thynne's loyalty seem to have stemmed in good part from his reluctance to support the loans requested by Parliament, and this is another consistent theme that connects most of the MPs associated with Glanvill. Robert Hunt's father also signed the 1637 petition challenging the ship money rates in Somerset,⁸² and while Arthur Capel seems to have paid his ship money with no delay, he did resist making further contributions to the king's northern journey shortly after in 1639. Similarly, the first Baronet Brereton was associated with earlier bills of 1621 opposing the levying of unjust fees.⁸³ His grandson, the Baronet Brereton, was then accused of actively encouraging people not to pay their due, despite paying his own ship money after only a short delay.⁸⁴ While these tight purses might well be coincidental, the ship money and Parliamentary loans being widely unpopular, these common outlooks increase the likelihood that the Breretons were known to the members of the Somerset/Glanvill group. Regardless, the Brereton family was certainly known to Pym. Pym was one of the official respondents to the bill proposed by the first Baron in 1621, and in 1643 the second Baron Brereton worked with him to suppress Arthur Capel's Royalist forces.⁸⁵

Third, and most importantly, several of these key Glanvill associates, particularly Rous, the first Baronet Brereton, the third Baron Brereton and Hunt, can all be connected by a demonstrable interest in witchcraft.⁸⁶ Hunt's extensive personal and professional interest in witchcraft has been outlined above, so I will here briefly summarize the connections that have been made

between witchcraft, Rous and the Breretons. Although Rous is more commonly associated with contemporary concerns over Arminianism and popery, he was also evidently a believer in witchcraft. Rous is closely associated with two supporters of witchcraft persecutions in addition to Glanvill.⁸⁷ According to the dedication of Nathaniel Homes's *Dæmonologie, and Theologie* (1650), which argues particularly for the existence of diabolic witchcraft, Homes and Rous were united in their desire to 'cry downe that diabolicall Astrologie' and Homes produced the work with Rous's support.⁸⁸ Furthermore, Rous's half-brother Pym was also both demonstrably influenced by Rous's works and an active advocate for witchcraft persecution. R. T. Davies presents a somewhat speculative summary of Pym's associations with witch-trials but supports his premise by recounting an accusation Pym made against Sir Edward Dering during a petition to the Grand Jury of Kent on 15 March 1642. His long and lively speech culminated in the suggestion that 'instead of inquiring upon the statute of witchcraft and conjuration' . . . Dering used 'enchantments and conjurations' to bend juries to his will and gain support for his petitions that he might 'put not only Kent' but 'all Christendom into combustion'.⁸⁹ Davies's suggestion that Pym is here displaying a family value is made plausible by Rous's support of Homes and the widely accepted close nature of the step-brothers' relationship. Finally, John Worthington also informed Samuel Hartlib that Rous possessed a copy of 'Carew's manuscript of Witches and Spirits', but that he would not publish the accounts contained therein because the tales included many details of private concern to that family.⁹⁰

The Brereton family was also concerned about cases of witchcraft, which helps explain the third Baron's support of Glanvill. In the account of a journey through Holland the first Baronet Brereton records an evening spent with, among others, Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia and daughter of James I.⁹¹ He writes of telling the Queen about the recent witch-trial in Lancashire that prompted an extensive discussion of personal experiences of witchcraft, ghosts and omens. Although the report of the evening is itself brief, the Baronet's support of the persecution of witches is clear, given the tone of the passage in which he describes the relation offered by the Queen in return. According to Elizabeth, an entire village of witches had been recently discovered in Westphalia whereupon they had all been 'deservedly burnt'.⁹² The Baronet's disdain for witches is thought to have been fuelled by the belief that his cousin, Richard Assheton (or Ashton), was bewitched to death by a man known only as Utley.⁹³ Utley was tried in Lancaster, found guilty and hanged for this crime.

Glanvill was then nominated for membership of the Royal Society by the third Baron Brereton, who may well have been influenced by his extended family's outlook. The third Baron Brereton investigated supernatural accounts for several years. At his invitation, John Worthington lived at Brereton Hall, from 13 October 1666 to 14 April 1667, where he was given the task of extracting 'material valuable for various scientific

or publishing projects' from the collection of Samuel Hartlib's papers.⁹⁴ Among the papers Worthington 'endorsed' during this time were accounts of alchemical feats, prophecies, apparitions, visions, and other 'heavenly mysteries', alongside various philosophical and theological discussions of such phenomena.⁹⁵ Worthington's discussions with Hartlib about Rous and the Carew manuscript suggest that these supernatural accounts were not included in this process by mere chance. Thomas Brancker was also a regular visitor to Brereton Hall during this period and in 1668 Brereton sent Brancker a copy of 'Mr Glanvill's piece of Witches &c' suggesting that the account of the Tedworth case which Glanvill dedicated to him in the 1668 *Blow at Modern Sadducism*, was well received and may well have been produced at Brereton's request, as the epistle dedicatory claims.⁹⁶

In addition to sharing common interests and associations with these key figures, Rous also provides potential links to Henry More and Robert Boyle through his position at Eton. While it has been suggested that Glanvill may have developed his Latitudarian tendencies during his time with Rous, the potential significance of Rous's role as the Provost of Eton College in the building of Glanvill's network has remained unexplored.⁹⁷ Still famous for its old boys' network, Eton was even at this time a renowned institution and crucible where lifelong friendships and networks were forged.⁹⁸ It was through his position at Eton that Rous offers the potential link between Glanvill and More. It is generally accepted that More knew Glanvill when he wrote to Lady Conway on 31 March 1663 about the Drummer of Tedworth and the famous haunting of the Mompesson family home.⁹⁹ Certainly by November or December of that year, More seemed to refer to Glanvill specifically as a friend.¹⁰⁰ Given the timing and circumstances, it seems that More and Glanvill connected through a network of people who were actively interested in investigating witchcraft and it seems likely that this friendship came about through an encounter, introduction or connection that was made during Glanvill's time with Rous.

Rous's connection to Eton was also potentially another factor in Boyle's interest in Glanvill. Boyle was still connected and involved with Eton affairs during this period, while Glanvill was living with Rous. Samuel Hartlib wrote to him in 1658 regarding his (Hartlib's) attempts to secure the position of Provost for John Wilkins after the ailing Rous's immanent death.¹⁰¹ Then in 1665, only a few years after Rous's death, Boyle was offered the position of Provost. He rejected the position, however, on the grounds that the job would detract from his studies.¹⁰²

We can only speculate whether Boyle actually met Glanvill when Glanvill was employed by Rous. Nevertheless, the awareness of Boyle's connection to the Etonian networks opens up the possibility that Boyle's awareness of Glanvill could have easily gone beyond the Royal Society and Brereton, and indeed the Somersets. Glanvill first contacted Boyle in 1662, sending him a copy of his *Lux orientalis*, two years before he sent his *Scepsis scientifica* to

Brereton. The possibility that Boyle became familiar with Glanvill's name through Rous's Etonian network offers some suggestion as to why such an eminent figure would accept a work from a young 'stranger of no name or consideration'.¹⁰³ Similarly, these connections help us conceive how the relationship might have developed so quickly, to the point that Boyle would include Glanvill among a list of good friends he would like Oldenburg to greet on his behalf.¹⁰⁴

To argue that Rous actively endorsed Glanvill, and through his introductions set him up for life, would be far-fetched, and such a scenario is highly unlikely given the timing of Rous's death. However, the awareness of these connections offers us insight into some possible mechanisms through which Glanvill would likely have encountered many of his significant supporters and patrons. Furthermore, this network model not only offers an elegant explanation for why Glanvill would seek out and pursue relationships with the people that he did; it also supplies several possible reasons why any one of these figures might have been inclined to be receptive to Glanvill's advances.

Yet more importantly, the greater connectivity now evident between Glanvill's family and his political and intellectual networks suggests that Glanvill had more personal ties and social contact with these men than has been previously thought possible, and requires us to review how we interpret Glanvill's works on both experimental science and witchcraft. The Letter to Robert Hunt which provided the core of what would become the *Saducismus triumphatus* can no longer be seen as an unsolicited tactical contrivance designed for self-promotion in the name of orthodoxy. The Letter becomes a missive written, at least in part, in support of a friend who must have experienced frustration that his investigations of witchcraft cases were being stifled by his superiors, a situation which ultimately left his own daughter vulnerable to attack. Glanvill's interest in witchcraft can now be placed in a political and social context. Although modern scholarship has labelled Glanvill's investigations into witchcraft an immortalizing folly, we can now see how an impressionable and aspiring young scholar could be drawn to and encouraged in such pursuits by the interests of the influential men who surrounded him.¹⁰⁵ We now have evidence in support of Glanvill's claims that he published his *Vanity of Dogmatizing*, *Lux orientalis* and *Philosophical Endeavour* at the encouragement of his friends, and we can confirm that, in several cases, his patrons shared the diverse interests reflected in these works. This allows us to trust in the truth of Glanvill's professed belief and alters how we evaluate the motivations underlying his major works. Placing Glanvill's works in this broader context clarifies how the three different elements of his work—his preaching and pastoral care, his investigations into the supernatural, and his advocacy of experimental philosophy and the Royal Society—were all connected and in harmony across his corpus.

Notes

1. Worthington-More_25/6/1668_2.2:293–294.
2. See especially Steneck, “Ballad,” 59, 66, 74 note h. Cf. Beale-Boyle_31/10/1666_3:261; Worthington-More_25/6/1668_2.2:293–294.
3. Worthington-Hartlib_19/4/1661_1:299–301.
4. See especially Chapters 5 and 6.
5. See Chapters 3 and 8.
6. Evelyn-Glanvill_24/6/1668_3:204. Cf. Dorothy Stimson, *Scientists and Amateurs: A History of the Royal Society* (London: SIGMA, 1949), 88.
7. For an example see: Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956, 11.
8. W. E. S. Glanville-Richards, *Records of the Anglo-Norman House of Glanville* (London, 1882), 77. Glanville-Richards may have been misled here by Prince’s speculation that our Joseph was of the Tavistock Glanvills, given some similarities in their crests. John Prince, *Danmonii orientales illustres: Or, The Worthies of Devon* (London, 1701), 431.
9. Edwards and Waller, “Glanvill,” 192. J. A. Venn, “Glanvill, Joseph,” in *A Cambridge Alumni Database*, online ed. (Cambridge University Library, 2009–2011), <http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/Documents/acad/intro.html> (homepage), accessed 19 October 2015. In reference to: Glanville-Richards, *House of Glanville*, 77. Although Wood does not mention Wimbish or a son Maurice in the text of his entry, references to Glanville’s instalment at Wimbish and Maurice have been added into Philip Bliss’s much used editions. Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Philip Bliss, 4 vols (London, 1813–1820), 3:1253.
10. For a comprehensive analysis of the various biographical sources and detailed evaluation of which elements of Glanvill’s biography can be reliably believed and which can be confidently dismissed see Julie Davies, “Science in an Enchanted World: Philosophy and Witchcraft in the Work of Joseph Glanvill” (PhD diss., The University of Melbourne, 2016), appendix one.
11. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 3:1244. FDMS71_WingG811_31–32. *St. Andrew’s Baptismal Register 1618–1642*, Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, fol.144.
12. William Burns, “Glanvill, Joseph (1636–1680),” online ed., January 2008, *DNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com (homepage). Reference to Glanvill’s father as Nicolas is also included in Charles Boase, *Registrum collegii Exoniensis* (Oxford, 1894), 2:124. This 1894 edition appears to have included this detail based on the referenced 1889 edition of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The ODNB in turn appears to have gathered this detail from the 1882 *Records of the Anglo-Norman House of Glanville*. Leslie Stephen, “Glanvill, Joseph (1636–1680), Divine,” online ed., Jan 2008, *ONDB Archive* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1889), www.oxforddnb.com (homepage). No details of Glanvill’s family are included in the 1879 edition of Boase or in the original College Register, as kindly confirmed by the Exeter College Archivist, Penelope Baker, and acknowledged by Boase himself. See: Charles Boase, *Register of the Rectors and Fellows Scholars Exhibitioners and Bible Clerks of Exeter College* (Oxford, 1879), xxxi, lxxii; Boase, *Registrum collegii Exoniensis*, 2:iii.
13. *England Marriages 1538–1937*, www.findmypast.co.uk (homepage), accessed 25 May 2015.
14. *Will of Joseph Glanvill*, fol.312v.
15. Mary’s full name is only known from one of Prince’s margin notes. His source is not stated. Prince, *Worthies of Devon*, 435.
16. As England was still starting the new calendar year on 25 March, Mary’s birth is recorded as 1677 in the original registry, which I have represented

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here as 1667/8. Arthur J. Jewers, ed., *The Registers of the Abbey Church of SS. Peter and Paul, Bath*, 2 vols (London: n.p., 1900–1901), 1:57, 58. Cf. Burns, “Glanvill.”

17. Jewers, *Abbey Registers*, 2:384.
18. The exact date for the wedding is unknown, but the Lambeth Palace Library holds a Marriage Allegation which suggests that the wedding took place around 3 December at St Botolph, Billingsgate, London. “Joseph Glanvill & Mrs Margaret Browning,” *Marriage Allegations*, Lambeth Palace Archives, MS VM I/11, Dec. 1679. Cf. G. J. Armytage, ed., *Allegations for Marriage Licences Issued by the Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Canterbury, July 1679 to June 1687* (London: Harleian Society, 1890), 30:13. In the Latin text of Glanvill’s memorial plaque in the Abbey, Margaret refers to herself as: ‘*Uxor ejus secunda è Selvinorum prosapiâ In Com. Glocestrensi, Mærens posuit.*’ For a full transcription see: Richard Rawlinson, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral-Church of Salisbury, and the Abbey-Church of Bath* (London, 1719), 247. The identification of Margaret Browning with Margaret Selwyn is supported by a marriage licence issued to Samuel Browning and Margaret Selwin in Gloucestershire in 1673 and Browning’s will. *Boyd’s 1st Miscellaneous Marriage Index, 1415–1808*, www.findmypast.co.uk (homepage), accessed 25 May 2015. Cf. *Will of Samuel Browning*, Gloucestershire Archives, Wills 1541–1800, Ref.1681/163.
19. Jewers, *Abbey Registers*, 2:61.
20. Both Greenslet and Redgrove include substantial biographical chapters but are misled in many of their conclusions because of their heavy reliance on Glanville-Richards. For full details of these issues see Davies, “Science in an Enchanted World,” appendix one. Cope’s extensive research into the diaries and correspondence of Glanvill’s colleagues did not yield the substantive information required to fully rectify these biographical shortfalls and misunderstandings. Greenslet, *Glanvill*; Redgrove, *Glanvill*; Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956.
21. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 3:1244. For further details and correlations see Davies, “Science in an Enchanted World,” appendix one, esp. table five.
22. Essays76_WingG809-sig.A2iii_verso. Glanvill was promoted to Chaplain in Ordinary on 27 February 1675. “Index of Officers: G,” in *Office-Holders in Modern Britain*, ed. R.O. Bucholz, rev. ed. (London: University of London, 2006), Volume 11: Court Officers, 1660–1837, www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11/pp1013-1064; “Chaplains in Ordinary,” *Records of the Lord Chamberlain*, National Archives, Kew, LC3/24, fol.23.
23. The prebendary was presented on 14 June 1678: *Ely, Norwich, Westminster and Worcester Dioceses*, compiled by Joyce M. Horn. *Fasti ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541–1857* (London: University of London Institute of Historical Research, 1992), 7:117. Glanvill was installed on 22 June 1678: *De officio subsacristarum*, Worcester Cathedral Library, A CXVI, fol.39Br.
24. *Office-Holders in Modern Britain*, www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11/pp1013-1064; “Chaplains Waiting in Their Months,” *Records of the Lord Chamberlain*, National Archives, Kew, LC3/24, fol.14.
25. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 3:1244.
26. ST26_sig.A2i_verso.
27. Whether Glanvill is among those related to the couple remains ambiguous. WOH77_WingG836_sig.A3r.
28. Details of some preliminary investigations into the familial nature of this relationship are included in Davies, “Science in an Enchanted World,” appendix one. Greenslet mentions the Marquess in passing: Greenslet, *Glanvill*, 85. Cope

- explores this relationship only in relation to the events of 1678: Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956, 37–39.
29. “The Epistle Dedicatory” in Essays76_WingG809_sig.A3r-a2r.
30. See Table 6. In the collection of essays, Essays76_WingG809, only Essay Seven was previously unpublished. The sermons in the second collection, SR76_WingG830, were all published for the first time. However, Glanvill later published the fourth sermon separately as *An Essay concerning Preaching* (1678). For further discussion of these works see especially Chapter 7.
31. This work was published in five editions: *A Discourse concerning the Difficulties of the Way to Happiness* (1670) DWOH70_WingG801A; *The Way of Happiness Represented in Its Difficulties and Incouragements, and Cleared from Many Popular and Dangerous Mistakes* (1670) WOH70_WingG835; *The Way to Happiness Represented in Its Difficulties and Incouragements, and Cleared from Many Popular and Dangerous Mistakes* (1671) WOH71_WingG836A; *Way of Happiness and Salvation Rescued from Vulgar Errours* (1677) WOH77_WingG836; *Two Discourses; Viz. A Discourse of Truth. By the Late Reverend Dr. Rust, Lord Bishop of Dromore in the Kingdom of Ireland. The Way of Happiness and Salvation. By Joseph Glanvil, Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty* (1677) TD77_WingR2368. It was also reprinted as the first sermon in Discourses81_WingG831.
32. Essays76_WingG809_sig.A4v.
33. WOH77_WingG836_sig.A2r-v.
34. *Will of Joseph Glanvill*, fol.312v.
35. “Quitclaim by Charles Gwyn, Monmouth, Gent, of All Title and Interest in the Right of His . . .,” Gloucestershire Archives, Badminton Muniments: Volume II Estate and Household, D2700/NE1/5, online ed., <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/> (homepage). Sophia married Charles Gwynn on 16 May 1695 at St. Mary’s Church, *Monmouthshire Marriages*, www.findmypast.co.uk (homepage), accessed 6 May 2015.
36. Molly McClain, *Beaufort: The Duke and His Duchess 1657–1715* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2001), 13–15, 37, 94, 132. The basic design for the Marquess’s perpetual motion machine can be found in: Gardner Hiscox, *Mechanical Appliances: Mechanical Movements and Novelties of Construction* (New York: Norman W. Henley Publishing Company, 1904), 366.
37. McClain, *Beaufort*, 118–120 and n.33. For an example of this stronger interpretation see page 89.
38. According to Chambers, she started collecting in the 1690s: Douglas Chambers, “‘Storys of Plants’ the Assembling of Mary Capel Somerset’s Botanical Collection at Badminton,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 9.1 (1997): 49. She began growing herbs and plants in her garden to make homeopathic medicines, her recipes for which have also survived: McClain, *Beaufort*, 118.
39. Julie Davies, “Botanizing at Badminton House: The Botanical Pursuits of Mary Somerset, First Duchess of Beaufort,” in *Domesticity in the Making of Modern Science*, ed. Donald L. Opitz, Staffan Bergwick, and Brigitte Van Tiggelen (London; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 19–40.
40. See Chapter 7. Cf. Davies, “Preaching Science,” 382–385.
41. For a more extensive discussion of these arguments see Chapter 7. Cf. Davies, “Preaching Science,” 382–385.
42. M. Somerset, *Unpublished Diary*, Bad. Mun. FmF 1/6/1/fol.10v cited in McClain, *Beaufort*, 119–120.
43. M.Somerset-H.Somerset_[1678]_6. My thanks to the Duke of Beaufort for providing a copy of this letter containing the only catalogued mention of Glanvill in the couple’s correspondences.

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44. McClain, *Beaufort*, 136–143; Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956, 39–40.
45. Though written in 1678, the treatise was published without any known instruction from Glanvill in 1681. On the date of composition see: Rhodri Lewis, *Of Origenian Platonisme: Joseph Glanvill on the Pre-Existence of Souls* (Berlin: Max-Planck-Inst. für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 2005), 287. Cf. Chapter 7.
46. ZIP81_WingG837_24–35; Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956, 24.
47. Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956, 7–10.
48. No alternatives to the marriage connection theory have been offered at this point in time.
49. For example, Margret Capel married Thomas Stocker in Little Hadham in 1611. *Hertfordshire Names Online*, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies Office, www.hertsdirect.org/ (homepage), accessed 28 May 2015. Also William Capel, Margaret Capel his wife, and Anthony Stocker are all listed as co-defendants in proceedings which took place between 1603 and 1625, concerning lands in Midsomer Norton, Somerset. *Dudley v Capel*, National Archives, Kew, C2/JasI/D8/44. For further details see Davies, “Science in an Enchanted World,” appendix one.
50. M.Somerset-H.Somerset_[1678]_6.
51. Glanvill-Boyle_[1662]_2:54–55; Glanvill-Baxter_3/9/1661_179–182. Cf. Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956, 6–7, 11.
52. *A New and General Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1761), 5:428.
53. Boase, *Registrum collegii Exoniensis*, 2:3.
54. Sometimes written Couant, little is known about Samuel other than he was related to John Conant, S.T.P. Rector of Exeter College and Vice Chancellor from 1657 to 1660. Prince, *Worthies of Devon*, 431; John le Neve, *Fasti ecclesiae Anglicanae* (Savoy, 1716), 467; Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 3:1244.
55. Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714* (Oxford: James Parker & Co., 1891), www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714.
56. Burns, “Glanvill”; Colin Burrow, “Rous, Francis (1580/81–1659),” online ed., January 2008, *DNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com (homepage).
57. FDMS71_WingG811_31. Cf. Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956, 4.
58. R. Trevor Davies, *Four Centuries of Witch Beliefs* (London: Methuen, 1947), 136. Cf. S. Reed Brett, *John Pym* (London: n.p., 1940), xix, xxi.
59. Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956, 4–5.
60. Whether the work Glanvill refers to here is the treatise that was eventually published as the *Lux orientalis* (1662) is not certain, but most likely. VOD61_WingG834_sig.A3v.
61. Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956, 3.
62. Thomas White, *An Exclusion of Scepticks from All Title to Dispute* (London, 1665), sig.A2r-v. Cf. Thomas White, *Sciri, sive, sceptices & scepticorum jure disputationis exclusio* (London, 1663), 3.
63. The imprimatur is dated 18 October 1665. Redgrove, *Glanvill*, 13 n.1. For a more detailed analysis of this work see Chapter 5.
64. Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956, 17; Thomas Birch, *The History of the Royal Society*, 4 vols (London, 1756–1757), 1:500–501, 504.
65. ACM67_Phil.Trans.2_525–527; AAQM68_Phil.Trans.3_767–771; OBS69_Phil.Trans.4_977–982. Glanvill-Oldenburg_25/1/1670_6:433–445; Glanvill-Oldenburg_31/1/1670_6:455–457.
66. “An Accompt of the Weekly Disbursments of the Right Worshipfull Sr James Thynne . . .,” Longleat House, TH/BOOK/174, online ed., <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/> (homepage); SRO, D/D/B.Reg/20 cited in “Joseph

- Glanvill (CCed Location ID: 106816),” CCEd, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk (homepage), accessed 1 June 2015.
67. LO62_WingG814_sig.A3r.
68. John P. Ferris, “Brereton, Hon. William (1631–80), of Dean’s Yard, Westminster and Brereton Hall, Cheshire,” in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1660–1690*, ed. B. D. Henning (1983), www.historyofparliamentonline.org/ (homepage); Michael A. LaCombe, “Willoughby, Francis, Fifth Baron Willoughby of Parham (Bap. 1614, D. 1666),” in *DNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com (homepage).
69. SRO, D/D/B.Reg/21 cited in “Joseph Glanvill,” CCEd. Cf. *Vicar General Act Books*, Lambeth Palace Library, VB 1/3/158.
70. For a convenient summary of the brief references to Hunt in the literature, see: Jonathan Barry, *Witchcraft and Demonology in South-West England, 1640–1789* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 14–17. I would like to sincerely thank Peter Elmer for drawing my attention to the Hunt correspondence in the Bull collection Bristol. I also profusely thank Jonathan Barry for providing me with a pre-publication copy of his chapter on Hunt.
71. Hunt-Bull_16/12/1667_No.103. For a partial transcript see: Barry, *Witchcraft and Demonology*, 32.
72. This quote comes from an advertisement which was inserted into the *Saducismus* and reportedly based on Glanvill’s notes. ST81_WingG822_127(3). This same assessment and sentiment was then articulated by Francis Hutchinson and perpetuated throughout the modern literature. For further general information on Hunt see: Davies, *Four Centuries*, 140–141; Barry, *Witchcraft and Demonology*, 14–15.
73. Glanvill was appointed to the Abbey on 12 June 1666. SRO, D/D/B.Reg/20 cited in “Joseph Glanvill,” CCEd.
74. Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956; Cope, “Anglican Apologist,” 1954; Hunter, “Decline of Magic”; Michael Hunter, “New Light on the ‘Drummer of Tedworth’: Conflicting Narratives of Witchcraft in Restoration England,” *Historical Research* 78.201 (2005); Lewis, “Spectral Currencies,” 88; van Leeuwen, *Problem of Certainty*, 87.
75. Mary Frear Keeler, *The Long Parliament, 1640–1641* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1954), 226, 329, 360–361.
76. Keeler, *Long Parliament*, 126.
77. This was the period between the death of his grandfather, the first Baron Brereton in 1631, and his own death in 1661. His cousin William, the second Baron Brereton joined the Cavalier Parliament as a member for Cheshire after the first Baronet’s passing. Chris Kyle, “Brereton, Sir William, 1st Bt. (1604–1661), of Handforth Hall, Cheshire,” in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1660–1690*, ed. Andrew Thrush and John P. Ferris (2010), www.historyofparliamentonline.org/ (homepage); Keeler, *Long Parliament*, 114–115.
78. Ferris, “Brereton,” www.historyofparliamentonline.org/ (homepage).
79. Keeler, *Long Parliament*, esp. Capel (126), Thynne (360–261), Hunt (226).
80. Gillian Hampson, “Brereton, William, 2nd Baron Brereton of Laghlin (1611–64),” in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1660–1690*, ed. B. D. Henning (1983), www.historyofparliamentonline.org/ (homepage).
81. Kyle, “Brereton (1604–1661),” www.historyofparliamentonline.org/ (homepage).
82. Keeler, *Long Parliament*, esp. Pym (318), Thynne (361), Hunt (226).
83. Chris Kyle, “Brereton, Sir William (1550–1631), of Brereton, Cheshire,” in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1660–1690*, ed. Andrew Thrush and John P. Ferris (2010), www.historyofparliamentonline.org/ (homepage).
84. Keeler, *Long Parliament*, 115.

85. Kyle, "Brereton (1604–1661)," www.historyofparliamentonline.org/ (homepage); William Sir Brereton, *Two Intercepted Letters from Sr. William Brereton to the Earle of Essex and M. Pym concerning the Rebels Affaires in the North* ([Oxford], 1643).
86. Indeed the argument has been made that the localized deterioration of Charles I's authority which accompanied the Long Parliament contributed to a spike in 'long-repressed witch-mania'. Davies, *Four Centuries*, 146–147ff. Arthur Capel was executed by the parliament 9 March 1654. Ronald Hutton, "Capel, Arthur, first Baron Capel of Hadham (1604–1649)," in *DNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com (homepage).
87. On Rous and Arminianism see: Thomas Harwood, *Alumni Etonenses: Or, A Catalogue of the Provosts & Fellows of Eton College . . .* (London et al., 1797), 22.
88. See the Epistle Dedicatory in Nathanael Homes, *Daemonologie, and Theologie* (London, 1650). Cf. Davies, *Four Centuries*, 135–136; Notestein, *History of Witchcraft*, 240.
89. John Forster, *Eminent British Statesmen: John Pym* (London, 1837), 271–272. Cf. Davies, *Four Centuries*, 138.
90. Peter Elmer, *The Miraculous Conformist* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 145 n.89.
91. Kyle, "Brereton (1604–1661)," www.historyofparliamentonline.org/ (homepage).
92. William Brereton, *Travels in Holland* ([Manchester], 1844), 33–34. For the identification of Brereton's Lancashire witches with the trial of 1634 rather than 1612, see: Davies, *Four Centuries*, 130.
93. Richard Assheton (by 1625–1630) was the son of Ralph Assheton (1596–1651) and Elizabeth Kaye. That Assheton shared 'ties of kinship, upbringing and outlook' with William the 1st Baron Brereton see: Ernest Broxap, *The Great Civil War in Lancashire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press; Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1973), xiv; John Burke and Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England* (Baltimore, MD: For Clearfield Company, by Genealogical Publishing, [1841] 2002). For references to the trial of Utley see: Edward Baines, *History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster*, 4 vols (London; Paris; New York, 1836), 3:195; Thomas Dunham Whitaker, *An History of the Original Parish of Whalley and Honor of Clitheroe, in the Counties of Lancaster and York* (London, 1818); James Crossley, ed., *Potts's Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster, Reprinted from the Original Edition of 1613* (The Chetham Society, 1845), 51 n.Z3b.
94. Leigh Penman, "Omnium exposita rapinae: The Afterlives of the Papers of Samuel Hartlib," *Book History* 19, no. 1 (2016): 22. Cf. Richard Copley Christie, ed., *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington*, 2 vols in 3 parts (The Chetham Society, 1843–1886), 2.1:206–221, 227.
95. BL, MS Sloane 648. Cf. Penman, "Omnium exposita rapinae," 26. For sparse additional information about the material see: Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 184; Allison Coudert, *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1999), 172. Brereton also invited Robert Boyle to join the intellectual community which he was gathering to Brereton Hall at that time, with promises of a laboratory fit for the 'making of Usefull & Ingenious Experiments' and 'a Commodious Apartment', though Boyle evidently declined the offer. Penman, "Omnium exposita rapinae," 15. Cf. Brereton-Boyle_9/5/1664_2:275.
96. Brereton granted him the rectorate of Tilston in 1668. Penman, "Omnium exposita rapinae," 16. This was presumably the new edition of 1668, *A Blow at*

- Modern Sadducism*. Brereton-Branker_15/6/1669_fol.88r. I would like to thank Leigh Penman for drawing this letter to my attention. BMS68_WingG800_117.
97. Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956, 4.
 98. Andy Beckett, "Eton: Why the Old Boys' Network Still Flourishes," *The Guardian*, Wednesday 14 November 2012, last modified Wednesday 4 June 2014, www.theguardian.com/ (homepage), accessed 8 June 2015.
 99. More sends Conway both an excerpt of a letter from Glanvill to himself regarding the events at Tedworth and a copy of the *Lux orientalis*. More-Conway_31/3/[1663]_215–217.
 100. More-Conway_[Nov or Dec] 1663_218–219. Glanvill is thought to have based his Tedworth account, in part, on Creed's letters mentioned here. See Chapter 5.
 101. Hartlib-Boyle_16/12/1658_1:294–295.
 102. Edward Creasy, *Memoirs of Eminent Etonians* (London, 1850), 133.
 103. Glanvill-Boyle_[1662]_2:54.
 104. Boyle writes: 'I desire to have my humble service presented to Dr. Beale, Mr. Glanvill, and Mr. Colepresse, and to the first of them my thanks for his kind remembrance.' Boyle-Oldenburg_29/12/1667_3:389.
 105. Greenslet, *Glanvill*, 144.

2 Weighing in on the Witchcraft Debate

Philosophick Arguments . . . though very cogent, are many of them speculative and deep, requiring so great an attention and sagacity, that they take no hold upon . . . the common sort [who are] best convinced by the proofs that come nearest the sense, which indeed strike our minds fullest, and leave the most lasting impressions . . .¹

—Joseph Glanvill

The question of the reality of diabolic witchcraft pervaded Glanvill's work. Both his philosophical and theological beliefs work converged in his approach to the topic. Glanvill, like Robert Hunt (who inspired his Letter of Witchcraft), was hardly a zealous witch-hunter.² He was similarly genuinely concerned with protecting his flock from the malefic acts of the demons and witches, which, according to his Christian cosmology and personal experiences, had an active role and natural place in the material world. Accordingly, from Glanvill's viewpoint, his investigations into witchcraft served two purposes: they provided 'palpable, and current evidence of our Immortality',³ and they expanded our knowledge of the natural world by improving our knowledge of the 'LAND of Spirits', which stood 'in the Map of humane Science' like America once did, 'fill'd up with Mountains, Seas, and Monsters'.⁴ Furthermore, these goals were both inextricably linked and independently worthy of his persistent attention.⁵

Glanvill addressed the question of the existence of witchcraft most famously in the *Saducismus triumphatus*, the much enlarged posthumous edition of the work he referred to informally as his Letter of Witchcraft. Written to Robert Hunt in the early 1660s, the Letter was first published in 1666 under the title *A Philosophical Endeavour towards the Defence of the Being of Witches and Apparitions*.⁶ It then appeared in five distinct printings and one essay version in the fourteen years before Glanvill's death. Although the Letter and Glanvill's investigations into witchcraft have attracted much criticism since the Enlightenment, the *Saducismus* and the famous Drummer of Tedworth account, which first appears appended to the 1668 edition and features prominently in the top left panel of the frontispiece to the Collection

of Relations (Figure 2.1), have ensured Glanvill has been remembered by history. In this chapter, I introduce the fundamental elements of Glanvill's arguments for the existence of diabolic witchcraft and contextualize these within the broader witchcraft debate. This study is followed by a new and more comprehensive analysis of the versions of the *Saducismus* including, in this chapter, a preliminary comparative analysis of all fourteen identified printings of the work, including the German translation of 1701 and the partial Dutch translation of 1692. A comprehensive analysis of the four editions produced in the 1660s will show how the core component of the work, the Letter to Robert Hunt, was added to in each edition, in response to intellectual, social and political conditions. As part of this analysis, I also address the objections raised by John Wagstaffe, the first critic to challenge Glanvill's Letter comprehensively in print, and Glanvill's response.

Background to Glanvill's Letter of Witchcraft

On a fundamental level, Glanvill's Letter offers the witchcraft historian insight into the situation beyond the intellectual debate. As previously discussed, Glanvill presented his arguments in the form of a letter addressed to and in defence of local Justice of the Peace, Robert Hunt, who was actively involved in witchcraft investigations and prosecutions in Glanvill's home county of Somerset. This grounded Glanvill's philosophical arguments in contemporary events, practices and beliefs, highlighting the prevailing tensions surrounding current witch-finding practices. The significance of contemporary attitudes to the production of the work is emphasized by Glanvill's inclusion of contemporary evidence in the expanded editions of the Letter and his aim of inspiring experimental investigations into witchcraft. A brief overview of the key issues in discussions of witchcraft at the time provides the necessary context for an analysis of Glanvill's approach in this work.

By the 1660s, witchcraft prosecutions were in decline across most of Europe.⁷ In England, witchcraft convictions became rare and difficult to uphold, especially after the trials of Matthew Hopkins in the 1640s. Even those prepared to argue for the existence of diabolic witchcraft, including Henry More and John Gaule, reacted aversely to Hopkins's methods.⁸ However, the number of trials for witchcraft in England and Scotland only gradually reduced, despite the Court's increasing reluctance to prosecute and tendency to overturn guilty verdicts.⁹ The number officially accused of witchcraft declined even more slowly, continuing well after cases stopped being tried. This delay emphasizes that the belief in witchcraft long outlasted the willingness of authorities to prosecute and convict such cases.¹⁰ The case of the bewitchment of Robert Hunt's daughter provides a specific example of this, for despite Hunt's conclusions about the events and his official position, there is no evidence that Alice Knight was ever brought to trial.¹¹

Traditionally, this pattern of change has been explained as a decline in belief, a 'dispelling of ignorance and "superstition"' linked vaguely to the

rise of experimental science and the birth of a new modern “rational” society.¹² However, evidence that accusations continued to be made long after prosecutions ceased have required a re-evaluation of later demonological works, like Glanvill’s, as historians seek out more nuanced explanations for the changes observed in this period. Just as the majority of scholars believe that a multi-causal explanation is required to give a satisfactory account of the rise of the witch-hunts, many scholars now agree that a number of factors contributed to the decline of the witch-trials and changing attitudes to witchcraft.¹³ Several of these causal factors are evident in Glanvill’s work: judicial reforms, changing medical attitudes to madness and mental health, and the rise of experimental science and mechanical philosophy.

Judicial Reforms

Brian Levack has examined judicial reforms in Europe and identified two primary changes that restricted the number of witchcraft prosecutions during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: (1) the regulation of local witchcraft trials by higher authorities; and (2) the demand for more persuasive evidence to support the conviction of witches.

Levack has argued that the validity of the evidence used to convict witches began to concern some judges, inquisitors and magistrates, especially in the wake of mass trials. Typically, these ‘judicial sceptics’ did not question the existence or possibility of witchcraft, but doubted whether the evidence available was sufficient to prove the accused witch guilty as charged.¹⁴ Thus in his *Discours des sorciers* of 1602, Henry Boguet, a French judge writing procedural manuals for use in witch-trials, challenged both accusations and confessions that included claims the witch had attended the Sabbath in spirit only. This common supposition was employed when witnesses testified that the accused remained at home, often asleep, at the time the Sabbath was supposedly held (usually a Thursday night). Believing that the soul could not separate itself from the body before death, Boguet theorised that the witches were lying, that they had gone to the Sabbath in body and in spirit but the Devil had replaced them with a phantom or succubus/incubus, so that their departure would go unnoticed. Alternatively, Boguet suggested that witches who had attended previous Sabbaths might, in special circumstances, be exempted from taking part, in which case the Devil would tell the witch what had happened through a dream.¹⁵ These interpretations reflect the demonologist’s concerns that testimony be congruent with what was possible according to the natural philosophy of the time, and though Boguet ultimately questioned the reality of astral travel, he was still very much a believer in the power of spirits and a witchcraft confederacy.¹⁶ Boguet is just one of several prominent French-speaking authors who applied their legal experience and expertise to the question of witchcraft at the turn of the seventeenth century. Similar interpretations have been found in Jean Bodin’s *De la démonomanie des sorciers* (1580), Nicolas Rémy’s *Daemonolatreiae*

libri tres (1595) and Pierre de Lancre's *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et démons* (1612).¹⁷

In the English context, John Gaule, a Puritan cleric and author of *Select Cases of Conscience Touching Witches and Witchcraft* (1646), expressed concern that witch-hunters like Hopkins found witches everywhere 'not from reason, but indiscretion' and were therefore more dangerous than 'the late leaners and lingerers' who denied that witchcraft existed altogether. Thus Gaule sought to reform, but not end, the practice of prosecuting witches, advising how to ensure that trials were conducted in a manner compatible with the 'rules of justice and the Protestant conscience'.¹⁸ He joined other judicial sceptics, including William Perkins and John Cotta, who took issue with the special interrogation techniques and practices permitted in witch-trials, such as the concept of trial by water. However, despite advising vigilance and caution, both Perkins and Cotta also continued to support the prosecution of witches.¹⁹

In contrast, some writers such as Pedro de Valencia, a Spanish humanist writing for Cardinal Sandoval y Rojas in 1611, questioned whether witchcraft could ever be adequately proved or disproved in a court of law, given the lack of physical evidence.²⁰ A similar tradition questioning the legality of witch-trials emerged in Germany, most famously exemplified by Friedrich Spee von Langenfeld's *Cautio criminalis seu de processibus contra sagas* (1631) and Johann Meyfart's *Christliche Erinnerung* (1636). Although both Spee and Meyfart were clergymen, not legal professionals, both had witnessed significant trials in their home cities of Würzburg and Coburg respectively.²¹ However, even Spee did not interpret the unreliability of evidence gained under torture as evidence that witchcraft did not exist. Nor was he particularly concerned with the humane treatment of prisoners. Rather he was concerned with the practical efficacy of torture, given the likelihood that people would be inclined to provide false confessions in order to avoid or stop the pain. Questioning the reliability of torture in this was a further challenge to the Court's ability to prove the accused witch was actually responsible for the malefic act.²²

Reacting against the injustice inherent in the way witch-trials were conducted, Spee also challenged the reliability of confessions given under torture.²³ For other judicial reformers, confessions and testimonies freely given were also often considered unreliable. The Spanish Inquisitor Alonso de Salazar Frias, for example, became concerned with the reliability of testimonial evidence in all manner of cases; however, as Levack demonstrates, the issue was particularly problematic in witchcraft trials. Traditionally, a confession was the lynchpin of a prosecutor's case in a witch-trial and the ultimate goal of any interrogation.²⁴ Physical evidence in witchcraft cases was relatively rare, especially where the more fantastical elements, such as Sabbaths or the Devil's pact, were concerned. Witchcraft cases overwhelmingly relied on evidence of observed correlations in behaviour, such as the victim becoming ill after seeing the accused witch, or conversely, recovering after some counter-magic was performed on the accused witch, as was reported in the scratching of Alice Knight, the witch believed to have afflicted Robert

Hunt's daughter.²⁵ Michel de Montaigne, writing in France, exemplifies such concerns when he concludes that it seems

much more natural and likely . . . that two men are lying than that one man should pass with the winds in twelve hours from the east to the west . . . [or] that one of us, in flesh and bone, should be wafted up a chimney on a broomstick by a strange spirit!

On balance, Montaigne determines, 'it is putting a very high price' on such testimonies and observations 'to have a man roasted because of them'.²⁶

In the absence of physical evidence to support accusations of diabolic witchcraft the fallibility of testimonial evidence became a primary concern. In most areas, this judicial scepticism or 'caution' precipitated a push by higher judicial authorities to assert control over any witchcraft prosecutions initiated by 'local judges or inferior courts'.²⁷ This type of reform is typified by the 1587–1588 witch-panic in the Champagne-Ardenne region of France. In response to these trials, the state body with supreme jurisdiction, the *Parlement* of Paris, demanded that from 1604, all witch-trials which resulted in a capital sentence must be reviewed by the *Parlement* before sentencing was carried out. This policy, formalized as an official edict/law in 1624, represented an unprecedented assertion of centralized authority and could result in the prosecution of local officials who violated standard procedures. As was the case in Somerset, centralized authority enabled superiors to prevent the persecution of witches in many instances. This was evidently a particular concern for Glanvill who was motivated to write his *Philosophical Endeavour* in support of Robert Hunt, a Somerset JP. According to an editorial advertisement in the *Saducismus*, Hunt's attempts to protect his community from a 'hellish Knot' of Somerset witches was unjustly stifled by men 'in authority', presumably the assize judges, who prevented a series of cases Hunt prepared in 1665 from coming to trial.²⁸ Dismissing such cases before they were fully investigated and examined at trial was an act of 'vanity', and based not on a lack of evidence, but on the belief that witchcraft 'is absurd, and . . . impossible'.²⁹ Furthermore, while Glanvill did not engage extensively with the question of torture, the role of testimony in knowledge production is central to his discussions of witchcraft, both in regards to its role informing legal judgements and in determining truths about the natural world.

Medical Doubts

Judicial scepticism and medical theory combined with significant effect in discussions concerning the reliability of fantastical witchcraft confessions.³⁰ In this matter practical, judicial concerns about the manipulation of testimony through dishonesty, ignorance or torture, combined with concerns about melancholy's effect on the accused's mental state, raised grave concerns among both witchcraft-believers and sceptics.

Johann Weyer (Wier), physician to Duke William V of Cleves, was one of the earliest writers to systematically attack the prosecution of witches primarily on the grounds of medical theory. In his work of 1563, *De praestigiis daemonum et incantationibus ac venificiis* (On the Illusions of the Demons and on Spells and Poisons), Weyer embraced the stereotype of the witch as an old unmarried woman or widow and used it as the foundation for his argument that witchcraft was a grand deception. Drawing on the works of Andrea Alciati, Cornelius Agrippa, Girolamo Cardano and Giovanni Battista della Porta who all contributed to the acceptance of a relationship between witches and melancholy, and melancholy and fanciful delusions,³¹ Weyer proposed that witches were merely unfortunate women who,

being by reason of their sex inconstant and uncertain in faith, and by their age not sufficiently settled in their minds, are much more subject to the devil's deceits, who, insinuating himself into their imagination, whether waking or sleeping, introduces all sorts of shapes, cleverly stirring up the humours and the spirits in this trickery.³²

Thus without challenging the observed phenomena associated with witchcraft, Weyer challenged the ultimate causes of *maleficium*, assigning all responsibility for bewitchments to devils and evil spirits, who were perfectly capable of acting of their own accord. 'Satan', he writes, 'needs the help of no second creature in displaying his power and declaring his actions . . . the malicious rogue pursues evil not under compulsion but freely and willingly . . . although he pretends otherwise'.³³ For Weyer, the witch, like any other mad or *furiosa* person, was not culpable, but through their illness and mental infirmity, merely deluded into believing they have carried out horrific acts.³⁴ Weyer characterized the witch as foremost among the Devil's tormented victims and witchcraft as a delusion resulting from an identifiable physical pathology.³⁵

Weyer also used his medical knowledge to challenge the notion that witches' spells and rituals actually caused the *maleficium* central to the witchcraft stereotype. Like Boguet, Weyer believed that spells were empty rituals used by the Devil to deceive witches into believing they had powers. He argued that the physical effects of witchcraft, including tumours and lung stones, had natural, often medical causes that he had verified through his own personal investigations.³⁶ Weyer believed that his findings proved that witches should therefore be treated leniently, as they were merely unfortunate women 'deluded by error and fantasy'. They could not, he maintained, actually harm anyone in reality but 'only in their imagination'. The punishment should be 'in proportion to the nature and magnitude of the offence' and may include a fine or exile for 'not opposing with sufficient conviction' the demon's illusions, 'but foolishly agreeing to them instead'. According to Weyer, a just punishment should also 'distinguish between the fully-formed will of a sane person, which has truly begun to be directed toward action,

and . . . the corrupt will of a mentally defective person' who should be shown compassion and helped 'back to the Faith'.³⁷

In the English context, these concerns reached their full potential in Reginald Scot's highly influential work, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584). Scot differentiated himself from Weyer with his more extreme radicalism, foreshadowing Balthasar Bekker in his denial that spirits were corporeal and able to affect the material realm.³⁸ If granted, this limitation to the powers of spirits renders diabolic witchcraft, as commonly defined by seventeenth-century demonology, impossible. Scot supported his claim that spirits were incorporeal and powerless in the material realm with a controversial, allegorical reading of the Bible: he argued that the Devil was not a real, separate entity, but the potential for evil within ourselves.³⁹ He also rejected the stereotype of witchcraft presented in the *Malleus maleficarum* and was among the first to present a social explanation for accusations of witchcraft with his claim that witches were merely old women who went from house to house begging, and inciting fear and anger in their neighbours.⁴⁰ He then supported these broader claims by explaining that many of the afflictions attributed to witchcraft in courtrooms were merely "jugglers" tricks. He also instructed the reader how to, for example, appear to swallow and/or regurgitate foreign objects. He also famously explained how the Witch of Endor was likely a mere ventriloquist who deceived Saul easily by performing her conjuration of Samuel in an adjacent room or closet, thus allowing Saul to hear but not see proceedings in full view.⁴¹

Weyer and Scot did help to mitigate the fervour of some English witch-prosecutors. This caution is seen in Richard Bernard's *Guide to Grand-Jury Men* (1627). Despite being of the opinion that 'all sorts of Witches ought to dye',⁴² Bernard, like Glanvill, conceded several points to Weyer and Scot, acknowledging that many 'strange and wonderfull diseases', including catalepsy and apoplexy, were often mistaken for witchcraft.⁴³ He also allowed that in many cases, 'Feare and imagination' were responsible for leading people's wits astray. These concessions led Bernard to question the reliability of testimony and eyewitness accounts and he cited the case of William Perry, the Boy of Bilson, as a classic example of a fraudulent accusation. According to the trial reports an unnamed 'old woman' was tried for witchcraft in Staffordshire in 1620. However, during the trial, her twelve or thirteen year old accuser, Perry, admitted to feigning the symptoms of his bewitchment, including both fits and numbness, starving himself to induce weakness, and using tricks to induce 'water like inke' and help him vomit pins, rags and straw.⁴⁴ However, rather than denying all witchcraft on this basis, as his fellow judicial guide and un-believer Robert Filmer did, Bernard went on to recommend jurors use diligent enquiry, consultation with specialists, and self-education as to the 'true signes' of possession, in order to correctly identify fraudulent or mistaken testimonies of this kind.⁴⁵

Despite these partial victories, as noted by Stuart Clark, the radical standpoint adopted by Scot alienated many of his contemporaries, who were

not prepared to concede his pivotal claim that spirits could not influence the material realm.⁴⁶ As a result, his opponents, including James I, considered Scot's arguments very easy to despatch.⁴⁷ As will be seen in Chapters 3 and 4, Glanvill and others such as Henry More and Meric Casaubon believed that the influence of demons and spirits in the material realm was demonstrated effectively by both biblical evidence of spiritual interventions, such as the Annunciation, and through the experience of influencing our own body with our mind/soul.⁴⁸ However, Cartesian mechanism had given rise to a dualistic model of the universe which forced renewed philosophical debate about the relationship of matter to spirit and soul, and made it possible to doubt even the evidence of the mind/body connection. On the one side, Hobbes and Cavendish represented English materialists whose scepticism extended to a denial of witchcraft based on philosophical and theological doubts about the nature and abilities of spirits.⁴⁹ On the other side, More, Boyle, Newton and Glanvill were among those seeking both philosophical and tangible experimental proof of interaction between the material and spiritual realms through alchemy, research into second sight, and investigations into witchcraft.⁵⁰

The nature of spirits and their relationship to the natural world thus constituted an intellectual discourse in which judicial reform, medical reform, experimental philosophy, theology, philosophy and demonology converged. As will be seen throughout this book, this unfolding debate was central to Glanvill's works, which not only sought to reinforce the belief in witchcraft, promote the experimental philosophy of the Royal Society or reaffirm the central tenets of Anglicanism, but also to explore the relationship between the three. I show how Glanvill's passion for experimental philosophy and pastoral work informed his witchcraft-beliefs and vice versa. We need then to turn our attention to Glanvill's writings on witchcraft.

The Many Editions of Glanvill's Book on Witches

Glanvill's small and unassuming Letter, published under the title *A Philosophical Endeavour*, made quite a stir in intellectual circles, even though most of the initial 1666 printing was destroyed in the Great Fire of London. As shown in Table 1, a new edition was promptly published in 1667, using the title *Some Philosophical Considerations Touching the Being of Witches and Witchcraft*.⁵¹ This 1667 edition was so popular an additional printing was commissioned, followed promptly by two expanded versions, the fourth and fifth printings, both published in 1668 under the title *A Blow at Modern Sadducism*.⁵² The fourth printing contained the account of the Irish faith-healer Valentine Greatrakes, the report on the Drummer of Tedworth (including an account of the Shepton witches) written for William Brereton, and four new sections.⁵³ Two of these sections, XVI and XIX, were then expanded further in the fifth printing, which contained two more additional sections, XIII and XVIII. The fifth printing was the first to include the

dedication to Charles, Duke of Richmond and Lennox. Despite the changing titles and evolving content, the fifth printing, the second in 1668, is identified on its title page as the fourth edition of the work, confirming that Glanvill and the publisher saw and intended continuity in these works.⁵⁴

The multiple printings and editions suggest that Glanvill's *Letter of Witchcraft* attracted considerable interest amongst his peers. Indeed, although Samuel Pepys reported that he was not quite convinced by Glanvill's argument in 1666, he nevertheless spent an enjoyable evening in December 1667 reading over the Tedworth report with his wife. It is presumed that Pepys had obtained a manuscript version of the report similar to that which was soon published with the fourth printing of the *Letter* in 1668. Evidently Glanvill's strategy of providing sensible proof of spirits through the investigation of contemporary cases was effective, as Pepys enthusiastically records that both he and his wife thought it a most 'strange story' and 'worth reading indeed'.⁵⁵ Pepys's account suggests that the popularity of Glanvill's work went beyond mere entertainment, having a genuine impact on the attitudes of its readers.

Glanvill's work on his *Letter* continued into the 1670s and the next version of the work, essentially a fifth revision, appeared in 1676 as the sixth essay in *Essays on Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion*, a volume dedicated to Henry Somerset, then third Marquess of Worcester.⁵⁶ Titled "Against Modern Sadducism in the Matters of Witches and Apparitions", this condensed version is closely based on the *Letter* and does not include any of the material on the Tedworth case. It does, however, retain the letters regarding Greatrakes, which also first appeared in the 1668 editions.⁵⁷ The main revisions to the 1676 version involved incorporating elements of the dedication and preface into the body of the essay where they function as the conclusion and introduction respectively. Any other revisions are relatively minor and do not significantly change the tone or meaning of the text.

The famous *Collection of Relations*, representing the culmination of Glanvill's research from the 1670s, only appeared with the first posthumous edition, *Saducismus triumphatus: OR, Full and Plain Evidence concerning Witches and Apparitions*, edited by Henry More and published in 1681. The *Collection* was adorned with its own well-known frontispiece illustrating six of the most dramatic events related therein: (from left to right, then top to bottom) the Drummer of Tedworth haunting (first relation); the Witches' Assembly attended by Elizabeth Style at Trister Gate (third relation); a night-time visitation by the Taunton witch Julian Cox (eighth relation); the rendezvous at which Margaret Jackson promised herself to the Devil (twenty-eighth relation); the levitation of Richard Jones by the Shepton Witches (second relation); and the miraculous Cure of Jesch Claes (nineteenth relation). (Figure 2.1) This edition incorporated the seventh printing of Glanvill's *Letter of Witchcraft*; however, what was initially a small sixty-two-page work, here grew to over six hundred pages.⁵⁸ Indeed, the *Saducismus* was reproduced

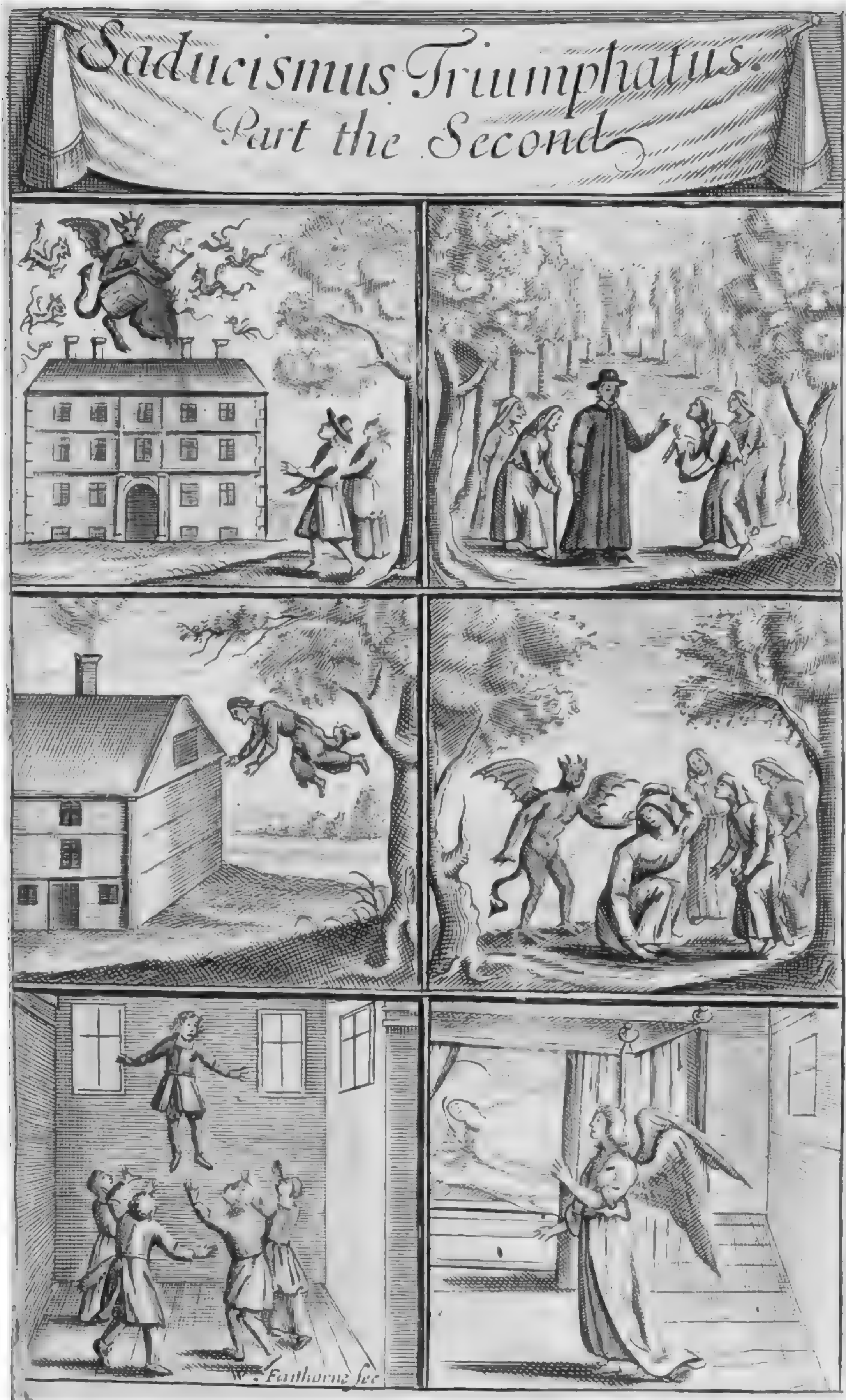


Figure 2.1 William Faithorne, *Scenes from the Collection of Relations*, in Joseph Glanvill, *Saducismus triumphatus* (1681), frontispiece to Part II.

Source: Wellcome Collection. CC BY.

well into the eighteenth century, a testimony to the work's influence and society's continuing interest in witchcraft despite the diminishing number of witchcraft trials.

More published a second expanded edition of the *Saducismus* in 1682, and this edition was printed a second time in 1688 (these constitute the eighth and ninth confirmed printings of Glanvill's book on witches).⁵⁹ Although the 1689 edition was then marketed as a third edition, the majority of this printing was, with the exception of the front matter and publisher's address to the reader, evidently produced using the same blocks as the 1688 edition and does not truly seem to have constituted a new 'edition'.⁶⁰ The eleventh and twelfth printings of Glanvill's book on witches, however, constitute a more convincing third posthumous edition. Some sections in these printings revert back to the 1681 edition, while others, such as the Continuation of the Collection of Relations, are retained as per the 1682 edition. These two printings were both produced in 1700, and most of their pages, except the title pages, are identical. One of the printings from 1700, Wing G826, is labelled a third edition with additions.⁶¹ It is not until the 1726 edition, the last complete early modern edition, that we see the work added to and altered in any significant way. The 1726 edition was marketed as the fourth edition and is the thirteenth confirmed English printing of Glanvill's book on witches. Reverting to the two 1668 editions's use of a double-'d' in *Sadducismus*, this 1726 printing includes a five-page biography of Glanvill based primarily on Anthony Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, and Anthony Horneck's 1681 collection, *Some Discourses, Sermons, and Remains of the Reverend Mr. Jos. Glanvil*, as well as minor revisions to some of the editorial notes that appear throughout the work.⁶²

The Posthumous Editions

For the purpose of analysing Glanvill's ideas, the posthumous editions are problematic. Although More used Glanvill's correspondence and notes to complete the 1681 edition, the original collection of documents has not survived and therefore we cannot reliably distinguish between the additions and alterations made or intended by Glanvill and those made by More. The address by the publisher, James Collins, which prefaces the 1681 edition, highlights why we should be cautious:

Indeed it had been desirable that it might have had the polishing of his [Glanvill's] last hand, as the peruser of his Papers [More] signifies in his last Advertisement. But to compensate this loss, the said Peruser, a friend as well to his Design as to his Person, has digested those Materials he left, into that order and distinctness, and has so tied things together, and supplied them in his Advertisements, that, to the judicious Reader, nothing can seem wanting that may serve the ends of his [Glanvill's] intended Treatise. Not to intimate what considerable things are added, more than it is likely had been, if he had finished it himself.⁶³

This emphasizes the extent to which the *Saducismus* is a composite work. For this reason, I have divided the material contained in the posthumous editions into four distinct working categories that reflect Glanvill's involvement with each portion of the work. The first category includes the Letter to Robert Hunt, the dedication to Charles II, the second relation about the Shepton witches and "A Whip for the Droll". These sections are reproduced from the previously published versions with only minor editorial changes. These sections are clearly Glanvill's work and can be relied upon with relative confidence, even though we cannot be completely certain that Glanvill did not intend further changes therein.

The second category includes the letters between More and Richard Baxter, Anthony Horneck's translation of the "Account of what happened in the Kingdom of Sweden", the translation of a large portion of More's *Enchiridion metaphysicum*, and the Continuation of the Collection of Relations which was added in 1682. The editorial notes indicate that these sections were added entirely at More's discretion. As such, these sections are best used as evidence for More's ideas and interpretations of Glanvill's methods. By basing interpretations of Glanvill's ideas, thoughts or philosophy on the sections of the text in this category, we risk artificially imposing More's ideas onto Glanvill and overlooking some of the subtle differences between the two philosophers, as will be discussed in Chapters 3 and 8. For this reason, it is recommended that these sections of the work be acknowledged as More's and not attributed to Glanvill.

The third category includes the first relation, regarding the Drummer of Tedworth and the "Proof of Apparitions . . . from Holy-Scripture". These sections either appeared in some of the previous editions (although heavily revised in the posthumous editions) or, according to the editorial notes, were produced on the basis of a draft begun by Glanvill. These sections are likely good indications of Glanvill's intentions for the work, but should be used as assessments of his philosophy, beliefs and ability with caution. Editorial acknowledgements inform us that these sections were based on drafts in various stages of completion and quality, while other portions drafted by Glanvill were omitted entirely at More's discretion. Furthermore, Collins confirms that the editorial notes do not provide an accurate guide to Glanvill's intentions, as it would have 'been too tedious to have explained all' the deviations from Glanvill's designs in them.⁶⁴

I include the majority of the Collection of Relations (relations 3–28) in the fourth and final category. This category is the most problematic, as the material evidently reflects Glanvill's broader intentions to a certain extent. However, we cannot accurately determine Glanvill's interest and level of involvement in the collection of these particular materials. Although there are indications that Glanvill had requested further details in some cases,⁶⁵ we simply do not have enough information to gauge Glanvill's opinion of each case or whether he would have included them in the collection himself. We also cannot gauge what form or further investigation would have been

undertaken in their preparation. However, his treatment of the Tedworth account does suggest that Glanvill would likely have presented the accounts in some edited format rather than in the form of records of testimonies, trial notes or letters. This cautious approach is also supported by Collins's preface, where he advises the reader that the 'Number also of the Stories are much increased above what was designed by Mr. Glanvil'. For although More did likely include only those relations that 'seemed very well attested and highly credible [. . .] and consonant to right Reason and sound Philosophy' to his mind, the contrast in the depth of Glanvill's account of the Tedworth and Shepton cases stands in stark contrast to the increasing brevity of those relations first presented in 1681. This contrast suggests that More worked to different standards of evidence than Glanvill did.⁶⁶ It is therefore my belief that the majority of the relations are best considered as reflections of More's interpretation of Glanvill's method.

This cautionary advice applies in some degree to the whole work. We simply cannot be sure whether Glanvill intended any of the changes that were made, or whether he intended changes that were not realized. However, given the influence and reach of the *Saducismus*, I believe that strategically dividing the work into these categories helps to ensure that any analysis of this influential work is as meaningful and accurate as possible. To this end, Table 2 will assist the reader's conceptualization of the structure of these posthumous editions and illustrate which sections can reliably be considered as predominantly Glanvill's work—for the reason that they include indications that Glanvill was heavily involved in their production and can therefore be cautiously used as illustrations of his thought and work—and which sections are consequently less reliable revelations of Glanvill's thought.

The Translations

Although the translations have had minimal impact on the English historiography to date, the *Saducismus* was translated into German in 1701 and large sections pertaining to the Tedworth story were translated into Dutch and appended to Jacobus Koelman's *Wederlegging van B. Bekkers Betoverde wereldt* (1692).⁶⁷ Koelman then translated additional relations from the 1689 edition in his *Schriftmatige leere des geestes* (1695).⁶⁸ (See Table 2 for details.) This interest in Glanvill abroad was stimulated primarily by the work of Balthasar Bekker, who discussed both Glanvill's explanations of witchcraft and the Tedworth story in his *De betoverde weereld* (1691–1693).⁶⁹ This connection to the Bekker debate explains why the *Saducismus* translations, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8, have been largely overlooked by the English scholarship.⁷⁰ Surprisingly, Bekker had less impact in the English-speaking world than may be expected.⁷¹ Nevertheless, the translations contribute to the extensive reproduction history that earns Glanvill's Letter of Witchcraft a reputation as one of the largest

and most published seventeenth-century treatises arguing for the continued belief in and persecution of witches.

The Letter to Robert Hunt

As highlighted by this analysis of the contents of the numerous editions, the Letter to Robert Hunt, first published as *A Philosophical Endeavour* (1666), was the core component of Glanvill's work on witchcraft in all its incarnations. The Letter is the only section which appears consistently, with additions rather than revisions, in all editions of the work. In the Letter, Glanvill presents both a philosophical defence for the existence of witches and a philosophical foundation for his investigations into witchcraft phenomena. Thus, the Letter attempts to disprove the claim that witchcraft is impossible, by offering not only theological and philosophical justifications for continued belief in diabolic witchcraft, but also natural philosophical theories which have the potential to explain several fundamental witchcraft phenomena and the nature of spirits. After an introductory discussion equating the denial of demonic witchcraft with atheism, Glanvill presents his hypothetical explanations of witchcraft phenomena. He discusses the reliability of testimonial evidence for witchcraft, suggesting that testimony is acceptable evidence when it is widely and consistently sourced and has withstood close examination by many 'wise and reverend Judges'.⁷² He attempts to establish the existence and nature of spirits, using the traditional form of a statement of an objection followed by a rebuttal. This rhetorical form allows Glanvill to argue that the existence of diabolical witchcraft is *not impossible*, rather than confronting the more challenging argument that witches are *definitely real*.

Throughout the Letter, Glanvill employs the mitigated scepticism associated with the Royal Society to argue that it would be arrogant to presume that the spiritual realm does not exist on the basis that we cannot yet comprehend it. He also draws on the successes of contemporary experimental philosophers at the Society to construct several analogous scenarios that, he argues, suggest that the instruments necessary to study supernatural beings may well be discovered very soon. Furthermore, Glanvill expresses hope that as 'the improvement of microscopical observations' led to the discovery of previously insensible and 'peculiar Animals' in the Earth, so too might experimental philosophy discover ways of detecting insensible or 'Rational' creatures in the other elements.⁷³

Glanvill also presents similar analogical arguments based on contemporaneous understandings of natural phenomena, including diseases⁷⁴ and foetal development.⁷⁵ He uses these theories to argue for the *possibility* of specific witchcraft phenomena that could be explained by similar operational mechanisms. The traditional witchcraft phenomena that Glanvill discusses include:

1. flying
2. transformation into cats, hares and other animals

3. witches sustaining injuries while in animal form
4. weather magic
5. the familiar's sucking of the witch.

It is within the context of this discussion that Glanvill first mentions his poisonous vapours hypothesis (PVH), the focus of Chapter 4.

Having thus addressed the natural philosophical concerns of the witchcraft sceptics including Weyer and Scot, Glanvill considers several more abstract questions: he asks why the Devil, a 'wise and mighty spirit', would be involved with a 'poor Hag' or 'silly old woman', and why the relationship would require the formation of a pact between them. He then proposes several possible explanations. He suggests that the Devil and his subordinate spirits may be acting with God's permission and that witchcraft is therefore part of his providential plan; that the Devil may be an arch-deceiver hiding behind pitiful and therefore unlikely characters in an attempt to conceal his involvement; and that it may simply be the Devil's evil nature to tempt people into malefic deeds, whereby witchcraft is but a means to this end.⁷⁶ Within this framework, Glanvill is able to present an argument for the possibility of witchcraft that is reasonably compelling if one accepts the fundamental elements of a Christian cosmology. He achieves this by addressing three main forms of demonological argument regarding the existence of witchcraft: the theological (traditions of magical phenomena, explanations of evil); the moral (the question of fraud and deception, witchcraft stereotypes); and the natural philosophical (testimonial evidence, medical theories, experimental philosophy, the immanent nature of spirits). Throughout the remainder of the Letter, Glanvill takes aspects of these three approaches and weaves them into a series of arguments which deftly combine elements of traditional belief and philosophy with explanations based on the work of the experimental philosophers of the Royal Society. In so doing, Glanvill modernized existing explanations for witchcraft and countered several key objections raised by witchcraft sceptics in a way that seemed powerfully reasoned to many of his contemporaries. He argued against the view that witchcraft was only a delusion caused by a melancholic disease; addressed concerns about the social discrimination of many of those accused of witchcraft (based on its predisposition to involve children, old women and the poor); and offered solutions to theological problems arising from the relationship between witchcraft, Providence, God's benevolent omnipotence, and miracles.

Glanvill's Sources and the English Witchcraft Tradition

The specific sources that Glanvill read and used when preparing the Letter are very difficult to identify with any degree of certainty. However, we can speculate about this to a certain degree based on circumstantial evidence. For example, Webster aligns Glanvill with Jean Bodin and fellow English

demonologist Bishop Joseph Hall. All three, according to Webster, used the strength of the judicial precedents and correlations between independent historical traditions to justify their belief in diabolic pacts, ritual practices in which demons or familiars sucked witches, ritual copulation between the Devil and witches, and animal transmutation.⁷⁷ Webster's comments suggest that Glanvill knew Bodin's work and this seems likely, given that Bodin's *De la démonomanie des sorciers*, first published in 1580, was popular in England despite the lack of an English translation. Bodin, a French lawyer, visited England in 1579 and again in 1581–1582 when it is thought that he had some involvement in the trial of fourteen witches in St Osyth in Essex.⁷⁸ Yet Bodin was also frequently referenced in several of the works that Glanvill does reference and which will be discussed further below.⁷⁹ Bodin's strong influence on these other works and the absence of any direct discussion of Bodin in Glanvill's works make it difficult to discern whether Glanvill read Bodin himself or was exposed to Bodin's ideas through these other sources.

Henry Stubbe and Webster, among others, also align Glanvill with Meric Casaubon on the question of witchcraft and spirits, even though Casaubon challenges Glanvill's *Plus ultra* in his *Letter to Dr. Peter Du Moulin* (1669). Glanvill's brief discussion of the possibility of 'Angelical Communications' via 'Crystalline streams' and 'beams of Light' was possibly a reference to the conversations with angels that were outlined in the spiritual diaries of the Elizabethan alchemist and mathematician John Dee. Casaubon famously published Dee's diaries in 1659 along with a preface emphasizing Dee's gullibility, not for believing that he was conversing with spirits, but for believing that he was conversing with good spirits rather than deceitful demons.⁸⁰

In another passage, Glanvill acknowledges the mistakes of 'the Popish Inquisitours, and other Witch-finders' who 'have destroyed innocent persons for Witches' and through 'Watching and Torture have extorted extraordinary Confessions from some that were not guilty'.⁸¹ This is a clear reference to Matthew Hopkins, the self-styled Witchfinder General, and his colleague John Stearne, who instigated the witch-hunt in Essex in 1645–1646. This reference to Hopkins, who will be discussed further below and in Chapter 4, is consistent with Glanvill's interest in local, recent cases, as is his extensive use of Robert Hunt's investigation records.

It has also been suggested that Glanvill was familiar with Richard Bernard's *Guide to Grand-Jury Men* (1627). An influential Somerset minister, Bernard wrote the work after assisting with the prosecution of Edmund Bull and Joan Greedie at the Taunton Assizes for witchcraft that same year. Scholars have drawn parallels between Bernard's book and Hunt's investigations as reported by Glanvill. They have noted similarities in their approach to investigations, their presentation of ideas, and the kinds of phenomena noted in the cases they describe. Bernard and Hunt have also been shown to have common associates, including the Thynne family, Glanvill's patrons, and Richard Allein, another pastor active in Frome-Selwood during

Glanvill's career. Given that Glanvill's relationship with Hunt is, in turn, established by the Letter, these connections make it seem more likely that Glanvill would have been familiar with Bernard's *Guide*.⁸² More than this, it is easy to imagine Glanvill appreciating Bernard's habit of using English cases to support and illustrate witchcraft phenomena, even when directly referencing Continental authorities like Bodin.⁸³

Most assuredly, we can presume that Glanvill had read the relevant works written by Henry More and Richard Baxter, who were both in correspondence with Glanvill. This would most likely include More's *An Antidote against Atheisme* (1652), *Enthusiasmus triumphatus* (1656) and *Immortality of the Soul* (1659), and the *Conjectura cabbalistica* (1652), elements of which Glanvill debated with another correspondent (probably George Rust) in a letter dated 1662.⁸⁴ Glanvill's self-introductory letter to Baxter of 1661 indicates that he had read several of Baxter's earlier treatises and heard him preach on several occasions.⁸⁵ Despite his theological focus and writing on subjects such as *The Arrogancy of Reason against Divine Revelations*, Baxter proffered an argument that was fundamentally compatible with Glanvill's approach:

if this were a wise and right reasoning, then there should be nothing in Being, but what we know the formal nature of; which is as gross a conceit, as most in the World. What if you know not what an Angel or Spirit is? doth it follow that there is none? What if you know not what is beyond the visible Creatures out of sight? doth it follow, that there is nothing beyond our sight?⁸⁶

It is much easier to identify those who Glanvill sought to argue against. As noted above, Glanvill specifically identifies Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Supposed Witchcraft* as one of his targets and refers to Scot multiple times, albeit with some revisions, in all the versions of the Letter.⁸⁷ This famous work was originally published in 1584, reprinted in 1651, 1654 and 1665, and was considered an inspiration for the other key antagonists that Glanvill addresses in the 1681 edition, especially Wagstaffe and Webster. The *Discoverie* was reprinted at a time when widespread scepticism about the existence of witchcraft appeared in England. Several of the sceptical works attacked by Glanvill were printed during this time, including works by Thomas Ady. Even though Glanvill only refers specifically to Ady's later work *The Doctrine of Devils* (1676), it seems likely that he was also familiar with Ady's *A Candle in the Dark* (1655) and *A Perfect Discovery of Witches* (1661). Glanvill also identifies Thomas Hobbes, the arch-materialist and sceptic, and Francis Osborne, parliamentarian, wit and author of the sceptical work *Advice to a Son* (1655, enlarged 1658), as among the leaders of the unbelievers.⁸⁸

Another likely antagonist who was not explicitly identified is suggested by Glanvill's response to 'Those that believe that Infants are the Heirs of Hell . . . as soon as they are disclosed to the world'.⁸⁹ This may be a reference

to another influential author who was sceptical about the reality of demonic witchcraft as defined by the Inquisition, Cornelius Agrippa. Agrippa was defended in print by Weyer, who was his student for a time.⁹⁰ He was also referenced by James I, Scot, Ady and Webster, and his *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* was translated into English in 1651. Yet it was another of his works, *The Vanity of Arts and Sciences* (1530), that seems to have attracted Glanvill's attention, possibly during the course of his research for his *Vanity of Dogmatizing*. In the *Vanity of Arts and Sciences*, which was not translated into English until 1676, Agrippa described mankind precisely as '*haeredes inferni*' or 'heirs of Hell' saved only through the grace of baptism.⁹¹

Glanvill was also reacting against ideas that can be traced back to Johann Weyer, the German physician. Weyer's claim that many witchcraft phenomena were mere delusions and symptoms of excessive melancholy (see above) was one of the main sceptical arguments that Glanvill attempted to refute with the poisonous vapours hypothesis that will be discussed in Chapter 4. However, given the strong influence Weyer had on Scot, it is difficult to determine whether Glanvill actually read Weyer, or whether he was exposed to these ideas only through Scot's *Discoverie*. Given that Glanvill discusses Scot at length, yet does not directly mention Weyer at any stage in the work, the latter seems more likely.

We could also consider whether Glanvill was acquainted with many of the famous demonological treatises that his correspondents (Baxter and More) and antagonists (Ady, Webster, Wagstaffe and Scot) referred to in this indirect way, but it is very difficult to determine whether he had read these works directly. The possibilities include: Johannes Nider's *Formicarius* (c.1435), Kramer's *Malleus Maleficarum* (1486), Bartholomeo Spina's *Quaestio de Strigibus* (1523), Paulo Grillando's *Tractatus de sortilegiis* (written c.1525, published 1536), George Gifford's *A Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcrafts* (1593), James I's *Daemonologie* (1597), Martin Del Rio's *Disquisitiones Magicae* (1608) and William Perkins's *A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft* (1608). Unlike Webster, Glanvill does not cite, refer to or acknowledge any of these works directly. Webster, on the other hand, refers to these demonological authorities in his critique as authors 'who have from one to another lickt up the Vomit of the first Broacher of this vain and false opinion, and without due consideration . . . laboured to obtrude it upon others.'⁹² While Glanvill was not quite as vehement in his opinion of traditional demonologists, he evidently agreed that the traditional sources consistently suffered from an inadequate methodology.

The ambiguity of Glanvill's sources in the original letter to Robert Hunt was not accidental and it marks a noteworthy departure from the standard methodology employed in traditional demonological works. It is more usual to see demonologists, whether arguing for or against the existence of witchcraft, going to great lengths to demonstrate their knowledge of authoritative sources and wide reading. Glanvill, however, is not seeking to establish and rely on literary authority. In fact he blatantly derides much of the

scholarship that has preceded him. Of those arguing against the existence of witchcraft, he writes:

I profess, for mine own part, I never yet heard any of the confident Declaimers against Witchcraft & Apparitions, speak any thing that might move a mind, in any degree instructed in the generous kinds of Philosophy & Nature of things. And for the Objections I have recited, they are most of them such as rose out of mine own thoughts, which I obliged to consider what was possible to be said upon this occasion.⁹³

While of those also arguing for the existence of witchcraft he writes:

I scorn the ordinary Tales of Prodigies, which proceed from superstitious fears, and unacquaintance with Nature, and have been used to bad purposes by the zealous and the ignorant . . .⁹⁴

These characterizations of the pre-existing scholarship are a further confirmation that Glanvill sought to do more with his treatment of witchcraft, to achieve what he believed was a higher standard of philosophical argumentation and evidence.

Instead of emphasizing the authority of academic sources, Glanvill focuses on building the authority of the witnesses and testimonial evidence that he draws on. He states explicitly that he has ‘no humour nor delight in telling stories’, and that he does ‘not publish these [accounts], for the gratification of those . . . [reading for entertainment, given that] things remote, or long past, are either not believed, or forgotten’. In contrast his accounts are recorded as ‘Arguments for the confirmation of a Truth . . . being fresh, and near, and attended with all the circumstances of credibility’. This tactic fits with the Royal Society’s empirical method, which maintained that new studies of phenomena properly began with the use of verifiable testimonial evidence, in order to compile a natural history of the subject. When Glanvill does give accounts of supernatural phenomena, he emphasizes that he is providing the testimony of judges with access to ‘clear and convictive evidence’ and ‘eye and ear-witnesses’. He acknowledges that while some of these might be ‘easily deceivable’, others are ‘wise and grave discerners’ and in a much better position to assess the validity of each case than his detractors. Glanvill also draws a contrast between ‘those that are able to judge’ and are ‘commonly reserv’d and modest’, and the ignorant condemner, ‘who values popular estimation’ and ‘Fame’ over careful consideration, yet is as ‘clamorous and impetuous in [their] oppositions [as] a Flock of Geese’.⁹⁵ With this characterization, Glanvill asserts that the providers of his testimonies were the kind of people—morally and intellectually—who undertook their investigations competently and objectively. The primary witnesses Glanvill was defending with these statements were: George Rust, who provided the account of Valentine Greatrakes; Robert Hunt, who gave Glanvill

the records of his examinations of Jane Brooks, which led to her execution for witchcraft in 1658; and Glanvill himself, who drew up his own report on the Drummer of Tedworth case.

In this way, Glanvill's work challenges one of the notions that has dominated scholarship of English witchcraft for the last hundred years: namely, the notion that the English populace did not fear witches on account of their involvement in a diabolic conspiracy, as their Continental counterparts did, but only became fearful when they had reason to suspect that a witch was using their arts for malefic purposes. According to this view, the focus of the English witchcraft accusation was not heresy and diabolism, but *maleficium*, the bringing about of harm to people, property or livestock.⁹⁶

This claim that English witchcraft beliefs were focused on malefic acts rather than diabolic associations has been supported in several ways. Studies of English trial records have consistently turned up fewer direct references to the Devil than records in most other parts of Europe have.⁹⁷ Scholars have emphasized that the Elizabethan witchcraft statute of 1563 made any 'invocations or conjurations of evil and wicked spirits', as well as malefic acts undertaken through 'witchcraft, enchantment, charm, or sorcery' illegal, without explicitly linking those malefic acts to a pact with the Devil.⁹⁸ On the basis of these two observations, many scholars have maintained that the key elements of diabolic witchcraft which appeared in English treatises and pamphlets neither aligned with the wording of the English witchcraft statute of 1563, nor 'reflect[ed] the content of most English witchcraft accusations'.⁹⁹ This included elements such as the Devil's pact, forms of ritualised Devil worship, associations with familiar spirits and their demonic nature, transmutation, consorting with incubi and succubi, conjuration and demonic possession; or as Kittredge put it 'everything, in short, except the Witches' Sabbath'.¹⁰⁰ Proponents of this view argue that learned theologians and authors, under the influence of Continental ideas, attempted to insert these concepts and understandings into more local and popular English beliefs. Nevertheless, witchcraft only became an issue in English communities, they claim, when a witch's skills were employed towards malefic ends; whereas white witches, or 'cunning folk', who performed a range of beneficial services such as healing, locating lost objects and counter-magic, continued to be welcome and accepted members of the community.¹⁰¹

Current scholarship is questioning the validity of this characterization of English witchcraft beliefs with increasing frequency by both re-examining the relationship between learned texts and popular beliefs and by re-evaluating the interpretation of specific elements in these accounts, such as familiars and the question of whether they were considered to be demonic or not.¹⁰² Moreover, the seventeenth century has long been recognized as problematic for those seeking to characterize English witchcraft as malefic rather than demonic.¹⁰³

In 1604, not long after James I acceded to the throne, the Elizabethan witchcraft statute was modified to include any people who would 'consult, covenant

with, entertain, employ, feed, or reward any evil and wicked spirit . . . for any intent or purpose', with the intention of 'better restraining the said offences' and providing for 'more severe punishing of the same'. By defining the interactions with spirits in more detail and including the reference to the concept of the covenant or Devil's pact, this revision gave legal recognition to the diabolic conception of witchcraft usually associated with the Continent.¹⁰⁴

Following this change in the law, more diabolic elements emerged in English witchcraft cases, even as the number of executions for witchcraft began to decline.¹⁰⁵ This is illustrated by the gradual emergence of forms of Sabbath meetings in a series of significant trials in the first half of the seventeenth century. The Lancashire trials of 1612 and 1634 are often cited as the first two seventeenth-century references to gatherings of witches.¹⁰⁶ However, Ewen dismissed the gatherings described in these trials, claiming that as 'no goat-devil is ever mentioned', these accounts cannot be interpreted as Sabbaths or anything else more significant than social gatherings. For Ewen, the presence of the Devil in the form of a goat and the performance of the Obscene Kiss were essential elements of any official gathering of diabolic conspirators.¹⁰⁷ Regardless of whether one agrees with Ewen's requirements for an official Sabbath, the general argument that the Witches' Assemblies described in English cases remained simpler and less significant than those described in Continental cases continues to influence conceptions of English witchcraft beliefs.¹⁰⁸ Kittredge departs from Ewen here, instead concluding that by 1612 'the Continental Sabbath had won a place—if a shadowy and unstable one—in the prosecution of English witches'.¹⁰⁹ Kittredge viewed the Lancashire trials as precursors to the Hopkins trials of 1645–1647, in which the Sabbath was a dominant feature in testimonies, alongside other diabolical concepts such as the Devil's mark and the pact. Reports by both Stearne and Hopkins were replete with details of regular gatherings, in which witches 'prayed to their familiars', consorted with the Devil and other evil spirits, and made sacrifices to him.¹¹⁰

Many scholars view the trials of the 'zealous Hopkins' as an anomaly, the result of a breakdown in the judicial systems that allowed an educated man to influence and shape the testimonies which he elicited, and whose records provide a distorted picture of witchcraft beliefs in England.¹¹¹ The Hopkins trials certainly stand out in the English context, given the level of psychological and physical torture that they employed. Hopkins and Stearne regularly subjected suspects to a practise called "watching", in which the witch was isolated and kept awake for extended periods while guards watched and waited to see if their familiar spirit appeared. They were also famous for their use of "pricking", the technique used to identify the Devil's mark, an insensitive spot on the body that would not bleed when pricked. As noted above, the brutality of the investigations undertaken by Hopkins and Stearne drew the attention of powerful contemporary critics including John Gaule, and Glanvill also did not condone his methods.¹¹²

Hopkins's use of torture was thought to allow him to influence the testimonies of those who he brought to confession, and this has led some scholars to dismiss the evidence of Sabbaths and other diabolic phenomena from these trials as fantasies imposed by Hopkins.¹¹³ This interpretation preserves the characterization of English witchcraft beliefs as essentially focused on malefic deeds and practices. However, it was also claimed by Kittredge that the Hopkins trials mark a point from which 'the Witches' Sabbath in its attenuated English form, achieves a more or less permanent status' in English beliefs.¹¹⁴ This view was refined by Alan Macfarlane in his influential analysis of the Hopkins trials, when he suggested that even if several of the diabolic elements of the trials had been 'mediated through Matthew Hopkins', the role of spirits in witchcraft was understood by the Essex community.¹¹⁵ If correct, the Hopkins trials confirm the gradual incorporation of diabolic elements into English beliefs about the nature of witchcraft practices during the first half of the seventeenth century.

The next chronological case usually listed in this series of significant English trials featuring reports of Sabbath-like gatherings is most relevant for this study of Glanvill and his relationship to current beliefs about witchcraft in England. Although Robert Hunt was less successful in securing convictions for witchcraft than Hopkins, his 1665 examination of Elizabeth Style was part of a well-known investigation which discovered a 'hellish Knot' of witches operating in Somerset.¹¹⁶ (See Figure 2.1, top right panel.) Kittredge claimed that Hunt's records provide compelling evidence that 'by Restoration times the Witches' Sabbath had . . . achieved a place in the witch-creed of England . . . [having] made its way slowly and with difficulty among the folk'.¹¹⁷ According to Hunt's records, Style confessed to meeting with the Devil in the form of a man in black, performing acts of homage to him, and feasting and dancing with other devils and witches in his presence. Glanvill's version of the records was first included as the third relation in the 1681 edition of the *Saducismus*, and Glanvill states that unlike the Hopkins testimonies, these confessions were elicited through 'gentle Examination'.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, the specific details in Glanvill's version have been verified in other independent accounts of this case, precluding the possibility that Glanvill was responsible for inserting into this testimony any ideas about the Sabbath from continental Europe.¹¹⁹ Indeed, recent scholarship has tended to interpret Glanvill's account as a reflection of popular belief, as evidence that the Sabbath had become part of widespread English beliefs about witchcraft practices. Yet, these same scholars also acknowledge that one cannot completely discount the possibility that other officials had elicited the diabolical ideas found in these testimonies through, for example, the use of leading questions.¹²⁰

Glanvill's claim that the diabolic elements found in the testimonies from the Style case were generated by the witnesses without coercion tends to challenge a concept that has underpinned much of the scholarship on English witchcraft: the idea that through printed literature, be it demonological treatises or

broadsheets or pamphlets, English proponents of witchcraft sought to impose the learned ideas about witchcraft practices found in Continental treatises onto the English populace and their writings are therefore a poor reflection of widespread “English beliefs”.¹²¹ This view sought to classify witchcraft sources as evidence for either “popular culture” or “learned culture” and it was based on a distinction between spontaneous witness evidence and evidence procured or presented by learned people. By separating the educated into a class of their own, proponents of this view characterized them as a group that was influenced by Continental ideas in isolation from the rest of the populace, and introduced doubts about the authenticity of these authors’ reports and their interpretation of the facts and accusations presented in individual cases. This distinction supported the aforementioned view that the low number of references to demons and the Devil in English court records was evidence of a fundamental disconnect between the essentially maleficent nature of English witchcraft practices, and the essentially demonic characterization of witchcraft practices and beliefs on the Continent.

However, Glanvill’s reliance on current and relevant cases, that is, on well-documented English cases with accessible witnesses, challenges this division between popular and learned culture as it related to seventeenth-century English witchcraft beliefs. Glanvill’s approach to the study of witchcraft aligns better with Clive Holmes’s suggestion that trends in English belief reflect a much more complex interchange of ideas between the learned elite, the clerical elite and popular culture. Holmes suggests, for example, that because of the pre-existing popular belief in familiars ‘English intellectuals were obliged to explain’ this phenomena. He also suggests that the beliefs about the Devil found in the testimonies of the Hopkins trials were ‘far from stereotyped: they suggest that the idea of a direct relationship with the Devil as the foundation of the witch’s power had become generally understood at the popular level’.¹²²

Glanvill’s treatment of Sabbath-like assemblies also aligns well with Holmes’s theory. Glanvill does not engage with the question of what he thought happened at these gatherings in any detail. In fact, his two references to these ‘general Rendezvous’ are brief enough to quote here. He discusses the familiar or ‘confederate Spirit[s]’ ability to ‘transport the Witch through the Air to the place of general Rendezvous’, without further speculation about what took place upon the witch’s arrival; and he speculates that the reliable departure of the poltergeist haunting the Mompesson house in Tedworth two hours after the family had gone to bed was necessary because ‘the Laws of the Black Society required its presence at the general Rendezvous’.¹²³ Further details about these assemblies occur only in the course of specific relations or testimonies, such as in the account of the Style case. This tangential and reactive engagement with the concept of the Sabbath suggests that, in line with Holmes’ thesis, Glanvill was primarily defending established English beliefs about witches from the attacks of sceptics, rather than attempting to integrate Continental beliefs about witchcraft with those

of either the English learned elites or the broader English community. This interpretation fits well into the broader context of the aims of Glanvill's intellectual work and explains why the majority of witchcraft phenomena Glanvill describes are by and large unremarkable. Glanvill's innovation lies not in his importation of diabolic ideas into England, nor even in his collation of these ideas. Glanvill's innovation lies in his application of the Royal Society of London's natural philosophical method to a series of beliefs about witchcraft that were already widely held, or at least generally understood, by different sectors within his community.

History and Philosophy of Demonology

Many differences between seventeenth-century demonologists arguing for the existence of witchcraft and their opponents can be understood as disagreements over what phenomena belonged to the realm of natural philosophy and what belonged to the realms of theology and metaphysics. On a fundamental level, Weyer, Scot, Glanvill, More, Casaubon and even Bekker all shared a common cosmology that was fundamentally imbued with Christian doctrines and required belief in angels, demons, souls and the Holy Spirit.¹²⁴ However, their opinions about how these beings operate and interact with the material world divided them. Those who believed in the reality of diabolic witchcraft, like More, Casaubon and Glanvill, emphatically maintained that witchcraft proved that spirits belonged to the *immanent* metaphysical realm, that is, they argued that spirits exist in and interact with the material realm and should therefore be considered among 'the objects of experience' that define one's reality. Conversely, Weyer, Scot and Bekker, who denied witchcraft on the grounds that spirits were unable to interact with the material realm, considered spirits to be metaphysically *transcendent*, that is, 'beyond the reach of ordinary experience'.¹²⁵ Thus, ultimately, the cosmologies of both the proponents for the reality of demonological witchcraft and their opponents were designed to accommodate the biblical evidence for the existence of spirits, but their metaphysics differed according to their natural philosophy, viz. their theories concerning the operation of the material world and their beliefs about the nature of spirits. As a result, the debate over the existence of diabolic witchcraft can be viewed as a debate between two competing cosmological paradigms.

Considering the witchcraft debate as a struggle between competing cosmological paradigms emphasizes the importance of the two potential sources of primary evidence that seventeenth-century discussants analysed in pursuit of information about spirits and witchcraft: the Book of Scripture and the Book of Nature. Demonologists engaging with evidence from the Scriptures applied techniques of biblical exegesis to passages such as the Annunciation (Luke 1:26–38) and the account of the Witch of Endor (1 Sam 28), and debated whether the famous exhortation 'thou shalt not suffer a witch to live' (Exodus 22:18) really referred to a witch, or merely to a poisoner. However, for

demonologists like Scot, who were inclined towards an allegorical reading of the Bible, or believed that the Age of Miracles had passed, these passages no longer provided the evidence of sensory experience required to justify considering spirits part of an *immanent* metaphysical realm. Therefore, Glanvill's 'palpable' testimonial evidence for witchcraft, and his explanations based on the new discoveries of experimental philosophy, were crucial to, in Casaubon's words, keeping 'the operations of Daemons . . . within the bounds of things Natural'.¹²⁶ By seeking to create natural philosophical explanations for witchcraft phenomena and supporting these with investigations into contemporary cases, Glanvill was attempting to establish that witchcraft was metaphysically immanent and therefore demonstrate the need to initiate an empirical, experimental study of spirit beings and their habits.

In this way, Glanvill's search for empirical evidence of his cosmological paradigm can be seen as employing epistemological methods similar to those associated with shifting scientific paradigms. According to Thomas Kuhn, established sciences are based on dominant paradigms that change or are replaced when an emerging theory begins to produce more accurate predictions for phenomena with less observational anomalies. Eventually, the body of evidence produced using the new theory or paradigm convinces enough scientists, that it becomes the new standard paradigm. This then prompts a significant shift in the world view of scientists, who not only develop new instruments with which to seek answers in new places, but also, significantly, 'see new and different things when looking with familiar instruments in places they have looked before'.¹²⁷ Glanvill clearly presents himself as participating in a process similar to this. He not only emphasizes his search for reliable evidence of witchcraft; he associates his investigations with the exciting discoveries and new worlds being explored with instruments like the compass, telescope and microscope. Indeed, Glanvill predicts that similar discoveries will soon confirm the existence of witchcraft and spirits and their compatibility with the emerging, naturalized cosmological paradigm.¹²⁸

As is the case with most demonologists, Glanvill engaged with both natural philosophical and theological lines of argument in the Letter. However, the extent to which Glanvill avoided scriptural argument and evidence in the original 1666 version is somewhat surprising, and it is interesting to observe how the work grew over the fourteen years that Glanvill continued developing it. In the original version, he uses scriptural evidence to *directly* support his conception of witchcraft in only four significant instances: (1) He uses 2 Corinthians 12:3 to support his Platonic theory of the soul and the possibility that a witch's soul can travel to a Sabbath.¹²⁹ (2) He suggests, without initially elaborating, that the 'History of the Gospel' *provides further evidence* that 'wicked spirits have vex'd the bodies of men', thereby supporting the notion that demons have the ability and inclination to torment mankind.¹³⁰ (3) Similarly, he strategically accounts for the Devil's ability to champion and coordinate such torments, even though according to

Scripture he 'is said to be held in the chains of darkness' (2 Peter 2:4).¹³¹ (4) Finally, towards the end of the Letter, Glanvill addresses the concern that if witchcraft is real, it may call into doubt mankind's interpretation of all the divine miracles listed in the Bible. Glanvill here differentiates between the malefic deeds effected by wicked demons and the humility, calmness, compassion, modesty, holiness and love expressed by Jesus through his miracles. Glanvill identifies the characteristics of Jesus's miracles as 'essentially contrary to the Nature and Constitution of Apostate Spirits', implying that it is therefore beyond their ability to imitate them. This discussion resolves into an interesting sceptical exercise. Glanvill's solution to the question is that we must trust in God's plan, because if we believe that God has allowed us to be deceived into mistaking the Devil's deceptions for the miraculous actions of Jesus, then there is no possibility for us to be assured 'that we are not always deceived' or 'that our very Faculties were not given us onely to delude and abuse us?' Glanvill argues it is only by trusting that the 'Ends and Designs' of an action 'sufficiently distinguish' the genuine miracles from 'all Impositions and Delusions' that can we avoid questioning the fundamental tenets of the Christian faith in such a way that we put 'a deadly Weapon into the hands of the Infidel' and risk a grievous 'Sin against the Holy Ghost'.¹³² Glanvill engages more actively and directly with Christian doctrine and scriptural evidence for the existence of witchcraft in this six-page discussion than anywhere else in the text. In the remainder of the Letter, Glanvill only engages passively with arguments informed by his Christian cosmology. In the majority of the text, Glanvill endeavours to provide evidence that is independently verifiable through sensory experience and therefore metaphysically *immanent*, and he only refers to scriptural evidence as additional support. That this minimal engagement with and reliance upon scriptural evidence was intentional is indicated by Glanvill when he outlines the rationale behind his methodology.

Glanvill opened the Letter by characterizing those who deny the existence of witchcraft as naturalists attempting to explain all witchcraft phenomena through natural causes, thereby succumbing to the deception of the Devil whose 'influence is never more dangerous then when his agency is least suspected'. According to Glanvill, such thinkers argue that any belief in diabolical contracts, apparitions or spirits 'rests onely upon . . . Faith and Reverence to the Divine Oracles', denying thousands of years of 'evidence of authority and sense' and 'publick Records' from cultures across the known world.¹³³ When making such arguments, Glanvill's interest in non-scriptural, philosophical and testimonial evidence becomes central to his defence of the existence of both witchcraft and Christian doctrine, ensuring that Glanvill's apologetical and philosophical goals are here aligned. However, Glanvill's response to his critics, as evinced by the additions he made to the 1668 editions, suggests that his experimental philosophical tendencies dominated his arguments to the point that he neglected relevant scriptural and theological issues to the detriment of his overall case.

Glanvill and the Witchcraft Debate

That Glanvill underestimated the current importance of theologically based arguments for rejecting a belief in witchcraft when originally composing the Letter is suggested by the additions he made to the second printing of 1668 (WingG800). He added five new sections (XIII, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX) and expanded Section XVI.¹³⁴ Interestingly, all these additions introduce primarily theological arguments that stand in stark contrast to the majority of the rest of the Letter. They address the reality and nature of Divine Communion,¹³⁵ the argument that miracles have ceased (proved in part through the investigation into Valentine Greatrakes),¹³⁶ the biblical accounts of sorcerers and witches such as the Chaldeans, Balaam, the Witch of Endor, Simon Magus, Nebuchadnezzar, and the Babylonian magi.¹³⁷ Glanvill also engages with translation debates, questioning whether certain passages refer to witches or poisoners,¹³⁸ and the previously mentioned argument articulated by the Dutch Arminian Simon Episcopius, that there is no example of a demonic pact in the Bible.¹³⁹ The reactive nature of these sections is reflected in the way Glanvill expressly associates several of these passages with either a specific critic or friendly commentator. Thus, he was directed to respond to Episcopius by ‘the ingenious M. S[amuel] Parker’, who ‘reckons these [arguments are] the strongest things that can be objected in the Case [against witchcraft]’,¹⁴⁰ and his discussion of the continuation and identification of true miracles was composed in response to the predicted objections of some unnamed ‘Disputers’.¹⁴¹

The disputer that Glanvill is likely referring to here is John Wagstaffe, a fellow Oxford alumnus, reputed “wit”¹⁴² and author of *The Question of Witchcraft Debated*, first published in 1669 with a second, enlarged edition following in 1671.¹⁴³ Although Wagstaffe doesn’t mention Glanvill by name, his interesting interpretation of the Drummer of Tedworth account and challenge to the notion that testimonial evidence can ever adequately prove that witchcraft exists, clearly implicates Glanvill (and Glanvill’s personal eyewitness account) as one of Wagstaffe’s chief targets:

Thus when they [the defenders of witchcraft . . .] make a great noise, and cry out upon the unreasonableness of those men, who will not believe what so many worshipful persons in the world have heard and seen. And what is that I pray? Why they have heard Trumpets sound, and Drums beat, when neither Trumpeter nor Drummer have been near the place. They have seen chairs and stools move up and down a room, when no body toucht them, and many other things as strange. Thus will they tell stories of this nature from morning to night if you please, though when they have done, they say nothing to the purpose. For suppose that all these stories were unquestionably true, yet they would not suffice to prove Witchcraft.¹⁴⁴

Wagstaffe goes on to argue that while such cases would, if true, provide evidence for the existence of spirits, they still do not constitute evidence of diabolic witchcraft. This interpretation is an extension of Wagstaffe's main argument that 'the opinion of Witchcraft is not to be found in Scripture'. Rather, according to Wagstaffe, Scripture has been misinterpreted and mistranslated to serve the political purposes of the Catholic Church.¹⁴⁵ That Wagstaffe was vocal about these opinions before his work was published is confirmed by the account of an evening he spent with Roger and John North in Cambridge.¹⁴⁶

Although several of the passages Glanvill added to the 1668 edition of the Letter were nominally presented as responses to Scot or Episcopi, Wagstaffe appears to be their true target. Glanvill indicates that he is outlining his 'particular obligations to the discoverer (Scot)' in order to assist him to respond to some as yet unpublished criticisms, touting that he would be 'very glad to be informed [of]' the details of the objections of these 'shallow . . . Disputers', but that he does not 'in haste expect' to receive them.¹⁴⁷ Supporting this interpretation, the topics of all six new/expanded chapters in the Letter directly pre-empt the main objections to Glanvill's arguments that appear in Wagstaffe's work. These chapters assert that biblical narratives such as that of the Witch of Endor do indeed describe cases of diabolical witchcraft;¹⁴⁸ that there is evidence in the Bible that compacts were made with the Devil;¹⁴⁹ and that spirits and other divine agents do still have the power to influence the material realm through means 'above the common methods of art or nature', as evidenced by biblical examples of Divine Communion and miracles.¹⁵⁰ Glanvill also develops these arguments further in his draft of the "Proof of Apparitions, Spirits, and Witches from Holy-Scripture". Only included in the posthumous editions of the *Saducismus*, this document claims to despatch the arguments of Webster, Wagstaffe and Thomas Ady.¹⁵¹

Glanvill was not the only demonologist to react to Wagstaffe's challenge to the crucial, immanent metaphysical status of spirits and diabolic witchcraft. The otherwise unidentified R.T. and Meric Casaubon also took up their pens against Wagstaffe in short order.¹⁵² Yet despite their concern about his influence, it seems that Wagstaffe's attempt to convince people that witchcraft did not exist was not particularly successful. Michael Hunter makes a compelling argument that in the second edition of *The Question of Witchcraft* Wagstaffe both reinforces many of his arguments and 'accentuates the "learned" character of the work'.¹⁵³ The nature of these revisions highlights that while the modern reader can appreciate Wagstaffe's cynical humour and radical treatment of common Restoration beliefs, his views appear to have remained too radical to be widely accepted in his own time.¹⁵⁴ Thus North remains unconvinced, the 'wags' of Oxford laugh and call Wagstaffe a 'little wizzard', and he is only taken seriously in some limited London circles.¹⁵⁵

Both the revisions Wagstaffe made to the second 1671 edition of his work, and the views of one of his key contemporary supporters, Thomas Ady,

author of the anonymously published *Doctrine of Devils* (1676), highlight how Wagstaffe's dismissive tone limited the appeal of his arguments.¹⁵⁶ Ady certainly employs his own dramatic flair when defending Wagstaffe and dispensing with the 'Lumps, and Cart-Loads of Luggage, that hath been Fardled up, by all the Faggeters of Demonological Winter-Tales, and Witchcraftical Legendaries; since they first begun to foul clean Paper'.¹⁵⁷ Despite outbursts like this, Ady's work is more reasoned, measured and carefully argued in comparison to Wagstaffe's. For example, Ady uses measured language and reasoned explanation, based firmly in Scripture and logic, to explain why the Children of the Pharisees described by Christ in Matt. 12:24 should be understood to have cast out disease rather than demons.¹⁵⁸ Similarly, his argument that demonology erroneously 'attributes greater Works, to Devils and Witches' than to Christ is compelling because of the simplicity of its logic. He argues that if the demonologists are correct, the Witch of Endor raised a man who had been dead for four *years*, whereas Christ only raised one who had been dead for four *days*, implying that the witch was more powerful than Christ himself. Similarly, whereas Christ 'could in short time convey himself from one side of the Channel to the other . . . A Witch can be at several Places very far distant, at the very self-same instant'. Ady then empowers the reader, leaving the validity of these conceits that so undervalue the miracles of Christ for 'the Consciences of Christians to consider'.¹⁵⁹ In contrast, Wagstaffe is prone to dismissive arguments. He dismisses the testimonial evidence 'that an old Woman can turn herself, or any body else into a Cat' as lies or delusions, with little further justification than the claim that the reality of witches 'must be proved Philosophically, and not by the testimony of men'. He similarly dismisses the law forbidding men to 'consult with the dead', claiming it only refers to 'the pretenders to that art'. 'We must not think that any could really do so', he writes, because Moses only made such a decree in order to protect the less fortunate at risk of being deceived.¹⁶⁰

The contrast between the argumentation found in the works of Ady and Wagstaffe reflects an awareness of the increasing importance of an objective, reasoned tone to the success of claims that are attempting to be philosophically persuasive in having readers change their fundamental cosmological beliefs. The importance of this tone in Glanvill's work will be emphasized throughout this book. That such a tone was seen as necessary to effect real paradigmatic change in the face of the proliferation of satirical material is both historically and historiographically acknowledged. For example, after receiving a copy of John Milton's *Areopagitica* (1644) from Samuel Hartlib, the German-born polymath and centre of a highly influential pan-European correspondence network, Joachim Hübner characterized it as 'rather too satirical throughout'. Hübner advised that if the *Areopagitica* were to have impact abroad its 'most important arguments must be further developed and more moderately put forth'—a sentiment reflected in the minor impact the work had in England at the time.¹⁶¹ More importantly, the changing

reactions to such scoffing rebukes have been identified as key markers that can be used to trace the shift whereby the belief in the reality of witchcraft became less 'credible' and more 'ridiculous' in the 'world view of the polite classes in England'.¹⁶² This shift is reflected in the renewed interest in and reproduction of Wagstaffe's work in association with debates over the trial of Jane Wenham in 1712 and the repeal of England's witchcraft legislation in 1736.¹⁶³

In contrast, historian of science and medicine John Waller has suggested that Glanvill exhibits a suspension of disbelief that is appropriate to any scientist working in a controversial area when he argues that mankind's nescience, the inability to comprehend how witchcraft works, does not disprove its existence.¹⁶⁴ Such rhetorical suspension of belief or disbelief is not uncommon in witchcraft treatises. However, viewing this tactic within the framework of knowledge production enhances our comprehension of the role that demonological treatises played in the process by which the dominance of a metaphysically immanent cosmological paradigm, in which diabolic witchcraft was feasible, was eroded.¹⁶⁵

In the seventeenth century spirits, witches and demons were an assumed part of the dominant Christian cosmology that influenced people's understanding and interpretation of the natural world in a similar way to the dominant scientific outlook that gives structure and meaning to the world today.¹⁶⁶ However, this cosmological paradigm was challenged with increasing intensity and frequency during the seventeenth century. Thus according to Wagstaffe, people often explained medical phenomena and sudden deaths through the actions of witches or spirits when they were limited by their 'want of knowledge in the Art of Physick'. Indeed, according to Wagstaffe, many physicians, constrained by their profession's lack of knowledge of melancholic illnesses, often resorted to supernatural explanations themselves when the natural causes were not understood.¹⁶⁷ If we interpret this type of argument as another attempt to disprove the existence of diabolic witchcraft by challenging the metaphysically immanent cosmological paradigm, we can view Wagstaffe's argument, and those of his opponents, from a different perspective. We observe how in the extremity of his cynicism, Wagstaffe did not consistently offer feasible explanations for these phenomena, highlighting in contrast, one of the philosophical attractions of Glanvill's work. This contrast makes clear the importance of Glanvill's methodology and his pairing of the detailed theoretical portion of his work, the *Letter of Witchcraft*, with his practical investigations, his reports on the contemporary cases of Valentine Greatrakes, the Shepton witches and the Drummer of Tedworth. By situating his hypotheses within current areas of research and by adopting the epistemological method advocated by the Royal Society (as will be discussed further in following chapters), Glanvill was able to offer his readers the promise of more reliable and verifiable knowledge of witchcraft from within the dominant cosmological paradigm, an argument that was very compelling in its own time. The next two chapters will explore

in detail some of Glanvill's central notions that fulfilled this rhetorical and philosophical function, his beliefs about the nature of spirits and souls, and his poisonous vapours hypothesis.

Notes

1. BMS68_WingG800_sig.A4r-v.
2. For this characterisation of Hunt see: Barry, *Witchcraft and Demonology*, 16, 56–57.
3. BMS68_WingG800_sig.A4v.
4. ST81_WingG822_127(3); BMS68_WingG800_116.
5. Glanvill himself stated that providing 'evidence of our Immortality' was only 'one reason, among some others' that he endeavoured to prove the existence of witchcraft. BMS68_WingG800_sig.A4v.
6. PE66_WingG817A.
7. A similar pattern of declining prosecutions has been observed across much of Europe, including Germany, Spain, Portugal and France. Erik Midelfort, *Witch Hunting in Southwestern Germany, 1562–1684* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1972), 199–230; Brian Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd ed. (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013), 253ff.
8. Barry, *Witchcraft and Demonology*, 9; Levack, *Witch-Hunt*, 253; S. F. Davies, "Introduction," in Matthew Hopkins and John Stearne, *The Discovery of Witches and Witchcraft* (Brighton, UK: Puckrel Publishing, 2007), viii–ix; Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1997), 518, 94 n.50; Malcolm Gaskill, *Witchfinders: A Seventeenth-Century English Tragedy* (London: John Murray, 2005), 276. For More's discussion of 'that troublesome fellow Hopkins the Witch-finder', see: Henry More, *Enthusiasmus triumphatus* (London, 1656), 70. Cf. Frederick Valletta, *Witchcraft, Magic and Superstition in England, 1640–70* (Aldershot, UK; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), 58–59.
9. Barry, *Witchcraft and Demonology*, 9; Levack, *Witch-Hunt*, 253ff.
10. For example, reflecting this pattern, the last official witchcraft execution in England was in 1685, while the last trial was not until 1717. Occasionally, with no satisfaction from the courts, people attempted to bring accused witches to justice themselves. Records show this illegal vigilantism was also punished. Levack, *Witch-Hunt*, 253, 280. This judicial hesitation was strong in England where there was a 75% acquittal rate for witchcraft cases even in the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, witch-trial numbers spiked between 1640 and 1660, and although the number of accusations brought to trial declined steadily after this time, the witchcraft acts remained effective until 1736, see: Barry, *Witchcraft and Demonology*, 9.
11. Barry, *Witchcraft and Demonology*, 33. The Alice Knight who happens to be the antagonist in John Greenleaf Whittier's play "The Haunted House" (see: John Greenleaf Whittier, *Legends of New England, 1831* (Delmar, NY: Scholar's Facsimiles & Reprints, 1965), 55–74) does not appear to be a related character.
12. Brian Levack, "The Decline and End of Witchcraft Prosecutions," in *Superstition and Magic in Early Modern Europe: A Reader*, ed. Helen Parish (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 337. Cf. William Lecky, *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe* (New York, 1884), 1:28–154; Barry, *Witchcraft and Demonology*, 4; Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: Penguin Books, [1971] 1991), 691–692.
13. Bengt Ankarloo, Stuart Clark, and William Monter, *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Period of the Witch Trials*, 6 vols (London: Athlone Press, 2002),

- 4:133–134; Andrew Fix, “Angels, Devils, and Evil Spirits in Seventeenth-Century Thought: Balthasar Bekker and the Collegiants,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 50.4 (1989): 547; Ian Bostridge, *Witchcraft and Its Transformations* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press, 1997), 233–243. For a useful bibliographical summary of studies on the decline of witch-beliefs, or lack thereof, see Barry, *Witchcraft and Demonology*, 1–2 and 276n.6; More specifically on the decline of witch-prosecutions see also: Levack, *Witch-Hunt*, 253.
14. Levack, *Witch-Hunt*, 253–288.
15. Henry Boguet, *An Examen of Witches Drawn from Trials of Many of This Sect in the District of Saint De Joux . . .*, trans. E. Allen Ashwin (Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein & Co., [1602] 2012), 46–51.
16. Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 195–198; Allen G. Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy: Paracelsian Science and Medicine in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 2 vols (New York: Science History Publications, 1977), 35; Lucien Febvre, “Witchcraft: Nonsense or a Mental Revolution?,” in *A New Kind of History from the Writings of Febvre*, ed. Peter Burke (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), 189–192.
17. Ankarloo, Clark, and Monter, *Witchcraft and Magic*, 4:127.
18. Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 518; John Gaule, *Select Cases of Conscience Touching VVitches and VVitchcrafts* (London, 1646), 4–7.
19. William Perkins, *A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft So Farre Forth as It Is Reuealed in the Scriptures, and Manifest by True Experience* ([Cambridge], 1610), 182–185, 199; John Cotta, *The Triall of VVitch-Craft* (London, 1624), 127–137. Cf. Notestein, *History of Witchcraft*, 227–231.
20. Valencia’s two works on witchcraft were *Discurso acerca de los cuentos de las brujas* and *Suma de las relaciones de Longroño*. Ankarloo, Clark, and Monter, *Witchcraft and Magic*, 4:125; Grace Magnier, *Pedro De Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010), 199–200.
21. Ankarloo, Clark, and Monter, *Witchcraft and Magic*, 4:131.
22. Levack, *Witch-Hunt*, 258–259.
23. New major law codes regulated the use of torture more heavily across much of Europe during the sixteenth century. Examples include: *Constitutio criminalis Carolina* (Germany, 1532); *Ordinance of Villers-Cotterêts* (France, 1539); *Criminal Ordinance* (Spanish Netherlands, 1570). Levack, *Witch-Hunt*, 258–259.
24. Levack, *Witch-Hunt*, 261; Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 211, 242.
25. Hunt-Bull_16/12/1667_No.103.
26. Michel de Montaigne, “‘Concerning Cripples’ (1588),” in *Witchcraft in Europe, 400–1700: A Documentary History*, ed. Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 405–406.
27. Levack, *Witch-Hunt*, 254–255. On the role of judicial ‘caution’ in the transformation of witchcraft beliefs in France, England, Germany and Spain, see also Bostridge, *Witchcraft and Transformations*, 234ff.
28. ST81_WingG822_127(3). Cf. Barry, *Witchcraft and Demonology*, 14–15, 35; Orna Alyagon Darr, *Marks of an Absolute Witch* (Surry, UK: Ashgate, 2011), 129, 263–265.
29. BMS68_WingG800_sig.A5v, 6.
30. Erik Midelfort, “Johann Weyer and the Transformation of the Insanity Defence,” in *The German People and the Reformation*, ed. R. Po-chia Hsia (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 236–237; Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 200.
31. Midelfort, “Weyer,” 240.
32. Weyer’s definition of a witch, here dextrously summarized by: Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 198–199. Clark’s interpretation is supported particularly by

- book 3, chapters V-VII, see: Johann Weyer, “‘On the Illusions of the Demons and on Spells and Poisons’ *De praestigiis daemonum* (1583),” in *Witches, Devils, and Doctors in the Renaissance*, ed. George Mora (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1991), 180–186.
33. Weyer, “*De praestigiis daemonum*,” 173.
 34. For a summary of the history of the insanity defence see: Midelfort, “Weyer,” 234–235.
 35. Weyer argues that these unfortunate women suffered from melancholia, a disease, especially, of the uterus. He argues that melancholia made the imaginations of such women more susceptible to suggestion and devilish manipulation. For further discussion see: Midelfort, “Weyer,” 254–255; Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 198–199.
 36. Weyer, “*De praestigiis daemonum*,” 287, 320–326; Midelfort, “Weyer.” For example, Boguet argues that malefic hail storms are not brought about through the witch’s agency, spell or ritual, but that the Devil tricks her into believing the power is hers. Through his greater knowledge of natural forces the Devil may either bring about the storm himself, or even more simply, take advantage of natural storms when he observes the conditions are right, by bringing the witch to the location to perform a ritual before the storm begins. Boguet, *Examen of Witches*, 62–66. A similar view has been attributed to Paracelsus see: Charles Webster, *From Paracelsus to Newton* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 81.
 37. Weyer, “*De praestigiis daemonum*,” 541–542. Weyer was prefigured in his belief that those accused of witchcraft should be medically treated rather than tried in a court by Andrea Alciati, an Italian lawyer. However, Alciati’s views on witchcraft are only known through one famous sentence in his *Parergon Juris* (1538). Ankarloo, Clark, and Monter, *Witchcraft and Magic*, 4:124.
 38. Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London, 1584), esp.365–367; S. F. Davies, “The Reception of Reginald Scot’s Discovery of Witchcraft: Witchcraft, Magic, and Radical Religion,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 74, no. 3 (2013): esp. 381–383; Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 211–212; Philip Almond, *England’s First Demonologist: Reginald Scot & “The Discoverie of Witchcraft”* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 111.
 39. Cf. Almond, *England’s First Demonologist*, 21–24.
 40. Scot, *Discoverie*, 3–4.
 41. For these specific examples see: Scot, *Discoverie*, 12, 13, 32. For discussion of further experiments and investigations see: Sydney Anglo, “Reginald Scot’s *Discoverie of Witchcraft*: Scepticism and Sadduceeism,” in *The Damned Art: Essays in the Literature of Witchcraft*, ed. Sydney Anglo (London; Henley; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 2011), 109.
 42. Richard Bernard, *A Guide to Grand-Iury Men* (London, [1627] 1629), 249; Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 193.
 43. Bernard, *Guide to Grand-Iury Men*, 11–13ff, 18; BMS68_WingG800_16.
 44. Bernard, *Guide to Grand-Iury Men*, 20–22, 30–32. For the full account of the Bilson trial and exposure see: R[ichard] B[addeley], *The Boy of Bilson* (London, 1622).
 45. Interestingly, Bernard’s ‘true signes’ are all based on biblical verses such as Luke 4:35 and Mark 1:34. Bernard, *Guide to Grand-Iury Men*, 48–50. Robert Filmer’s arguments against witchcraft are presented in *An Advertisement to the Jury-Men of England, Touching Witches* (1653). Ankarloo, Clark, and Monter, *Witchcraft and Magic*, 4:130.
 46. Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 212; Ankarloo, Clark, and Monter, *Witchcraft and Magic*, 4:126.
 47. James I, *Daemonologie* (Edinburgh, 1597), sig.2r, 23, 35.

48. BMS68_WingG800_14.
49. Jacqueline Broad, "Margaret Cavendish and Joseph Glanvill: Science, Religion, and Witchcraft," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 38 (2007): 494.
50. Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 300–304. Cf. Michael Hunter, *The Occult Laboratory* (Suffolk; Rochester: Boydell Press, 2001); Michael Hunter, "The Discovery of Second Sight in Late 17th-Century Scotland," *History Today* 51.6 (2001): 48–53; D. P. Walker, "Medical Spirits and God and the Soul," in *Spiritus*, ed. M. Fattori and M. Bianchi (Rome: Edizioni dell' Ateneo, 1984), 223–244; Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump* (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1985), 209, 315; B. J. T. Dobbs, "Newton's Alchemy and His Theory of Matter," *Isis* 73.4 (1982): 511–528; Simon Schaffer, "Godly Men and Mechanical Philosophers: Souls and Spirits in Restoration Natural Philosophy," *Science in Context* 1.1 (1987): 67, 73; Stephen Snobelen, "Lust, Pride, and Ambition: Isaac Newton and the Devil," in *Newton and Newtonianism*, ed. J. E. Force and S. Hutton (Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2004), 155–181; Peter Harrison, "Newtonian Science, Miracles, and the Laws of Nature," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56.4 (1995): 531–553; van Leeuwen, *Problem of Certainty*, 87.
51. PC67_WingG832. Glanvill notes: 'I had order'd my Bookseller to send y^u a Copy of my Letter of Witchcraft just after it was extant . . . But y^e Fatall Fire came on y^t putt all things into hurry. My Bookseller among y^e rest was almost undone, & my Letter & other things lost'. Glanvill-More_13/3/[1667]_2.
52. The two 1667 printings are numbered: WingG832 and WingG832A.
53. The fourth edition (BMS68_WingG800) was the first to include a table of contents. These sections are therein numbered XVI, XVII, XIX and XX. These two cases also feature in Figure 2.1, the haunting at Tedworth in the top left panel, and the Shepton witches in the bottom left.
54. As this fourth edition, BMS68_WingG800 is the most complete, I will use this edition when citing general references from the early editions.
55. For Pepys first reading see: Samuel Pepys, *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, trans. Mynors Bright, online ed. Project Gutenberg, 2004, <https://www.gutenberg.org/> (homepage), 24 November 1666. For the second reading see: Pepys, *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 25 December 1667. Cf. Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956, 14.
56. Essays76_WingG809_Essay VI_1(5).
57. Essays76_WingG809_VI:54–57(5).
58. ST81_WingG822.
59. ST82_WingG823; ST88_WingG824.
60. ST89_WingG825. Wing G824B appears to represent a second printing of Wing G825. Despite missing some section title pages, the page signatures consistently suggest that the pages missing from this volume are either an error of binding or the result of vandalism.
61. ST00_WingG826_Sig.B1v. For an example of the second print run of 1700 see: ST00_WingG826A. Wing G826A, however, only includes one image. Whether the Witch of Endor print frontispiece has been removed or was omitted is unclear. Regardless, the arrangement is clearly different from Wing G826, as the image illustrating several of the relations appears on a recto page in Wing G826, but on the verso page as the frontispiece in Wing G826A.
62. For further discussion of the biography see Chapter 1 and Davies, "Science in an Enchanted World," appendix one. ST26_Sig.A2r. Examples of altered or omitted editorial notes can be found at: ST00_WingG826A_sig.H2v(2) compare ST26_55; ST00_WingG826A_1(4) compare ST26_111; ST00_WingG826A_63(5) compare ST26_285.
63. James Collins 'The Publisher to the Reader' in ST81_WingG822_sig.A3r-v.

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64. James Collins 'The Publisher to the Reader' in ST81_WingG822_Sig. A3r-v.
65. ST81_WingG822_Relations X and XX(3).
66. James Collins 'The Publisher to the Reader' in ST81_WingG822_Sig. A3r-v.
67. Jacobus Koelman, *Wederlegging van B. Bekkers Betoverde werelddt, het eerste deel ingelstelt door Jacobus Koelman . . . Met een aanhangsel, van den duyvel van Tedworth, en van een brief van . . . Henricus Morus, aangaande tovery en waarseggery, uit het Engles vertaald* (Amsterdam, 1692).
68. Jacobus Koelman, *Schriftmatige leere der geesten, soo der goede als insonderheid der quade, als mede van bezetenheid, spokerye en toverye* (Utrecht, 1695).
69. Bekker addresses Glanvill directly in: Balthasar Bekker, *De betoverde weereld*, 4 vols (Amsterdam), Volume 3: Chapters 2–3. He then addresses the Tedworth case specifically in: Bekker, *Betoverde weereld*, Volume 4: Chapter 21 §19–26. For the foreshadowing of these discussions see: Bekker, *Betoverde weereld*, Volume 1: Pages 22, 29; or for the English translation see: Balthasar Bekker, *The World Bewitch'd, or, An Examination of the Common Opinions concerning Spirits* (London, 1695), sig.c11v, sig.d6v. Collection of Relations, if accepted, provided evidence which directly refuted Bekker's claim that the Devil was unable to act upon the material world. Cf. Chapter 8; Davies, "German Receptions."
70. For one exception see the brief discussion in: Rosalie Colie, *Light and Enlightenment: A Study of the Cambridge Platonists and the Dutch Arminians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 106.
71. Andrew Fix, "What Happened to Balthasar Bekker in England? A Mystery in the History of Publishing," *Church History and Religious Culture* 90.4 (2010): 622. Only the first volume of the *Betoverde weereld* was translated into English in full. For the English translation of volume 1, which also contains summaries of volumes 2–4, see: Bekker, *The World Bewitch'd*. For the English translation of Bekker's own abridged version see: Balthasar Bekker, *The World Turn'd Upside Down, or, A Plain Detection of Errors, in the Common or Vulgar Belief, Relating to Spirits, Spectres or Ghosts, Daemons, Witches, &c. in a Due and Serious Examination of Their Nature, Power, Administration, and Operation* (London, 1700).
72. BMS68_WingG800_5.
73. BMS68_WingG800_9–10.
74. BMS68_WingG800_18, 19.
75. BMS68_WingG800_14; Waller, *Leaps*, 32; Easlea, *Witch-Hunting, Magic*, 145.
76. BMS68_WingG800_21, 24–28, 30–31, 35.
77. John Webster, *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* (London, 1667), 63–64. Cf. Joseph Hall, *The Invisible World Discovered to Spirituall Eyes* (London, 1659); BMS68_WingG800_5–6.
78. Peter Elmer, *Witchcraft, Witch-Hunting, and Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 27–28.
79. Webster, *Displaying*, 11, 36, 58, 67, 93, 95, 250, 292; Thomas Ady, *A Candle in the Dark* (London, 1655), 5, 109, 111, 136, 139, 141, 163; Henry More, *An Antidote against Atheisme* (London, [1652] 1653), 111, 128, 132–137, 140–144, 149–151. Bodin was also heavily referenced by Scot, who devotes several chapters to discussion of his ideas. Almond, *England's First Demonologist*, 18ff.
80. This discussion first appears in the second edition of the *Blow* published in 1668: BMS68_WingG800_57–61. It is not clear whether there is any relationship between the addition of this chapter and Casaubon's response to the *Plus Ultra*. Cf. John Dee, *A True & Faithful Relation*, ed. Meric Casaubon (London, 1659); Webster, *Displaying*, sig.a3r, 10–14, 36–42, 116; Henry Stubbe, *Legends No Histories, or, A Specimen of Some Animadversions upon the History of the*

- Royal Society . . . Together with the Plus Ultra of Mr. Joseph Glanvill Reduced to a Non-Plus* (London, 1670), 44(2). Glanvill responds to Casaubon's letter in PAtoHS71_WingG821_93ff and 118ff. See also BMS68_WingG800_57–61.
81. ST81_WingG822_9(3).
 82. Andrew Pickering, *Witches of Selwood Forest: Witchcraft and Demonism in the West of England, 1625–1700* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 15; Barry, *Witchcraft and Demonology*, 45–46.
 83. For some examples see: Bernard, *Guide*, 92–93, 131–132, 156–157.
 84. Glanvill-[Unknown]_20/1/1662_fol.1r-2v.
 85. Glanvill-Baxter_3/9/1661_179–182.
 86. Richard Baxter, *The Arrogancy of Reason against Divine Revelations* (London, 1655), 16.
 87. BMS68_WingG800_sig.B4r, 76, 85; ST81_WingG822_64, 72–75(2), sig.F4v, 49–55, 57, 60–62(3).
 88. ST81_WingG822_sig.F4r-v(2).
 89. ST81_WingG822_22(2).
 90. Johann Weyer, *De praestigiis daemonum* (Basel, 1568), 147.
 91. Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, *De incertitudine & vanitate scientiarum, & artium* (Prael, 1532), chapter XCIV, 312; Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, *The Vanity of Arts and Sciences* (London, 1676), 331.
 92. Webster, *Displaying*, 36.
 93. BMS68_WingG800_75–76.
 94. BMS68_WingG800_56.
 95. BMS68_WingG800_sig.B3v-sig.B4r, sig.A8v-sig.Br, 5–6. Cf. 155.
 96. Sarah Williams, *Damnable Practises* (London; New York: Routledge, 2016), 2–3; Thomas, *Religion and Decline*, 525–534; C. R. Unsworth, “Witchcraft Beliefs and Criminal Procedure in Early Modern England,” in *New Perspectives on Witchcraft, Magic and Demonology*, Volume 3: Witchcraft in the British Isles and New England, ed. Brian Levack (New York; London: Routledge, 2001), 10; James Sharpe, “The Devil in East Anglia: The Matthew Hopkins Trials Reconsidered,” in Levack, *New Perspectives*, 328–329; Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 24–27ff.; P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, *The British Witch: The Biography* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Amberley, 2014), 211.
 97. C. L'Estrange Ewen, *Witch Hunting and Witch Trials* (London: Kegan Paul, 1929); C. L'Estrange Ewen, *Witchcraft and Demonianism* (New York: AMS Press, [1933] 1984; Thomas, *Religion and Decline*, esp. 527, 531–532; Maxwell-Stuart, *The British Witch*, 211; Robin Briggs, *Witches and Neighbours* (London: HarperCollins, 1996), 213, 398.
 98. Davies, *Four Centuries*, 15; Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 247; Brian Levack, ed., *Witchcraft Sourcebook* (New York; London: Routledge, 2004), 94; Thomas, *Religion and Decline*, 526. Cf. “A.D. 1563. 5 Eliz., c. 16: An Act against Conjurations Enchantments and Witchcrafts,” in *Witchcraft in England, 1558–1618*, ed. Barbara Rosen (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1991), 54–55.
 99. Levack, *Sourcebook*, 94.
 100. Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 41–42, 250; Ewen, *Witch Hunting*, 1–12; Maxwell-Stuart, *The British Witch*.
 101. James Sharpe, “Witchcraft in Seventeenth-Century Yorkshire: Accusations and Countermeasures,” in Levack, *New Perspectives*, 224–226; Deborah Willis, “Shakespeare and the English Witch Hunts: Enclosing the Maternal Body,” in Levack, *New Perspectives*, 245; Thomas, *Religion and Decline*, 534; Maxwell-Stuart, *The British Witch*, 212.
 102. Sharpe, “The Devil in East Anglia,” 326; James Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England* (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 58–59; Maxwell-Stuart, *The*

- British Witch*, 143–144; Charlotte Millar, *Witchcraft, the Devil, and Emotions in Early Modern Europe* (London; New York: Routledge, 2017).
103. Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 265ff.; Maxwell-Stuart, *The British Witch*, 222.
 104. “A.D. 1604. 1 Jac. I, c.12. An Act against Conjurations Witchcraft and Dealing with Evil and Wicked Spirits,” in Rosen, *Witchcraft in England*, 56–57; Unsworth, “Witchcraft Beliefs,” 7.
 105. For examples see: Maxwell-Stuart, *The British Witch*, 288; Philip Almond, *The Lancashire Witches: A Chronicle of Sorcery and Death on Pendle Hill* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), esp. 15–26. On the decline of executions for witchcraft in England from 1607 see; Brian Levack, “Possession, Witchcraft and the Law in Jacobean England,” in Levack, *New Perspectives*, 52.
 106. Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 251, 265–271; Thomas, *Religion and Decline*, 529; Sharpe, *Witchcraft*, 59. For full details of the 1612 trial and the nature of the meeting that was thought to have taken place, see Almond, *The Lancashire Witches*, esp. Ch.3.
 107. Ewen, *Witchcraft and Demonianism*, 55–58. Cf. Unsworth, “Witchcraft Beliefs,” 11.
 108. Unsworth, “Witchcraft Beliefs,” 11; Sharpe, *Witchcraft*, 60.
 109. Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 268–269.
 110. Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 271–272. Cf. Sharpe, “The Devil in East Anglia,” 328–329; Keith Thomas, “The Relevance of Social Anthropology to the Historical Study of English Witchcraft,” in *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations*, ed. Mary Douglas (London, 1970), 50.
 111. Ewen, *Witchcraft and Demonianism*, 62; Thomas, *Religion and Decline*, esp. 532–533; Sharpe, “Witchcraft in Seventeenth-Century Yorkshire,” 222; Dianne Purkiss, “Desire and Its Deformities: Fantasies of Witchcraft in the English Civil War,” in Levack, *New Perspectives*, 271–301, esp. 282 ff; Maxwell-Stuart, *The British Witch*, 241; Levack, “Possession, Witchcraft,” 53.
 112. On Glanvill’s opinion see: ST81_WingG822_9(3). For general accounts of contemporary critiques of Hopkins’s methods see: Unsworth, “Witchcraft Beliefs,” 24–25; Malcolm Gaskill, “Witchcraft and Power in Early Modern England: The Case of Margaret Moore,” in Levack, *New Perspectives*, 309.
 113. Levack, “Possession, Witchcraft,” 53; Purkiss, “Desire and Its Deformities,” 289–290; Gaskill, “Witchcraft and Power,” 309–310. For the more general argument that diabolic witchcraft ‘never triumphed completely in England’ see: Thomas, *Religion and Decline*, 533.
 114. Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 271.
 115. Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1999), 139, 194. Cf. Sharpe, “The Devil in East Anglia,” esp. 331 ff. Sharpe also presents grounds to question whether Hopkins was familiar with learned discourses on witchcraft. (page 337).
 116. ST81_WingG822_127(3).
 117. Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 274–275.
 118. ST81_WingG822_143(3). Though as Pickering notes, it seems likely that Style may have been subjected to at least mild sleep deprivation tactics. Pickering, *Witches of Selwood Forest*, 65.
 119. While we do not have Hunt’s original notes, Jonathan Barry has identified three other versions of the Style case which appear to represent two accounts produced without the use of Glanvill’s relation. They are: extracts from depositions relating to the Styles case submitted to the *Gentleman’s Magazine* by W.L.W. and printed by them in July 1837 (pages 256–257); a manuscript in the possession of William Barnes by 1879, now housed in a private collection; and a copy of Barnes’s manuscript of c.1906, now housed in the Somerset Record Office (DD/DT/28). For further details see: Barry, *Witchcraft and Demonology*, 17–18, 280 n.12.

120. For scholars who view this as evidence of popular belief see: Maxwell-Stuart, *The British Witch*, 288–289 and n.49; Barry, *Witchcraft and Demonology*, 45. Ewen, in contrast, dismisses the report outright as ‘much too late to be of value’ in the assessment of English beliefs about witchcraft. Ewen, *Witchcraft and Demonianism*, 58.
121. Ewen, *Witchcraft and Demonianism*, 44–47; Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 250–266. Thomas, *Religion and Decline*, 526–534, 762–763.
122. Clive Holmes, “Popular Culture? Witches, Magistrates, and Divines in Early Modern England,” in *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Steven Kaplan (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 1984), 99–101. Cf. Sharpe, “The Devil in East Anglia,” 335–338; Almond, *The Lancashire Witches*, 165.
123. BMS68_WingG800_15, 122.
124. Ankarloo, Clark, and Monter, *Witchcraft and Magic*, 4:134–135.
125. For definitions of these terms see: Anthony Quinton, “Metaphysics,” in *The New Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*, ed. Alan Bullock and Stephen Trombley (London: HarperCollins, 1999), 524. See also Ernest Gellner’s discussion on the inclusion of abstract and intangible (as opposed to metaphysically transcendent) concepts within the boundaries of modern science: Ernest Gellner, “The Savage and the Modern Mind,” in *Modes of Thought*, ed. Robin Horton (London: Faber, 1973), passim, esp. 170–171.
126. Meric Casaubon, *A Treatise Proving Spirits, Witches, and Supernatural Operations, by Pregnant Instances and Evidences Together with Other Things Worthy of Note* (London, 1672), 133. Cf. Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 211. Witchcraft’s place in the natural world is also demonstrated by the inclusion of witchcraft cases and magical phenomena in natural histories and wonderbooks such as Gaspar Schott’s *Physica curiosa, sive mirabilia naturae et artis* (1662). Ankarloo, Clark, and Monter, *Witchcraft and Magic*, 4:135–136.
127. Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions: 50th Anniversary Edition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), esp. 66, 111 ff; Alan Chalmers, *What Is This Thing Called Science?*, 3rd ed. (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1999), esp. 107–108.
128. BMS68_WingG800_8–10, 116–117.
129. PE66_WingG817A_15.
130. This discussion is then resumed later in the treatise when Glanvill uses scriptural evidence of angelic communication and prophecy to provide further evidence of spirits interacting with humans. PE66_WingG817A_28, 43.
131. PE66_WingG817A_20.
132. PE66_WingG817A_51–56.
133. PE66_WingG817A_3–5.
134. Sections XIII, XVIII are not yet included in WingG799, the first printing of 1668. Sections XVI and XIX appear in WingG799 but are expanded further in WingG800. The in-text heading for section XVII is missing from both editions; however, as this section discusses the Witch of Endor, the relevant passage is readily identifiable in the text.
135. BMS68_WingG800_57ff.
136. BMS68_WingG800_77, 103–111. Ultimately, the discussion of Greatrakes is used as evidence for the continuation of miracles into modern times.
137. BMS68_WingG800_79–80, 83–85ff, 98–90, 95–97.
138. BMS68_WingG800_78.
139. BMS68_WingG800_89–94.
140. BMS68_WingG800_94. Parker’s writings against witchcraft have only survived in Glanvill’s descriptions of them. See: Notestein, *History of Witchcraft*, 308.

141. BMS68_WingG800_68–70.
142. Michael Hunter, *Science and the Shape of Orthodoxy* (Suffolk; Rochester: Boydell Press, 1995), 292–293.
143. No changes were made to the original text of the 1669 edition, rather Wagstaffe included a discussion section after each chapter in which he clarified his arguments and responded to criticisms of the text.
144. John Wagstaffe, *The Question of Witchcraft Debated . . . Enlarged* (London, 1671), 112–113.
145. Wagstaffe, *Question of Witchcraft*, 1671, 144–145. Also note Wagstaffe’s first chapter: “That the Bible hath been falsly translated in those places which speak of Witchcraft”. For further discussion of the details of Wagstaffe’s argument see: Hunter, *Science and Orthodoxy*, 292ff.
146. Roger North, *The Lives of the Norths*, ed. Augustus Jessopp, 4 vols (Westmead: Greg International Publishers, 1972), 2:287; Hunter, *Science and Orthodoxy*, 293.
147. BMS68_WingG800_68–70.
148. BMS68_WingG800_85ff. Cf. Section XIX.
149. BMS68_WingG800_Sections XVI, XVIII.
150. BMS68_WingG800_106, and Sections XIII, XX.
151. ST81_WingG822_13(3).
152. R.T.’s *The Opinion of Witchcraft Vindicated* appeared shortly after in 1670, as did Meric Casaubon’s, *Of Credulity and Incredulity in Things Divine & Spiritual* (London 1670), 177ff.
153. Hunter, *Science and Orthodoxy*, 303.
154. On discussion of the implications of Scot’s radical views see: Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 212. Cf. Almond, *England’s First Demonologist*, 2, 19, 54 and esp. 179.
155. North, *Lives*, 2:287; Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 3:1114; Casaubon, *Of Credulity and Incredulity in Things Divine & Spiritual*, 177. Although other satirical accounts of witchcraft cases pre-dated Wagstaffe, Notestein observed that neither the 1648 pamphlet *The Devil Seen at St. Albans . . .* nor the 1654 pamphlet *Mercurius Democritus* attempted to make concerted, persuasive arguments against the reality of witchcraft in the way Wagstaffe did. Cf. Notestein, *History of Witchcraft*, 251–252.
156. Although sometimes attributed to N. Orcard, *Doctrine of Devils* is more usually attributed to Thomas Ady. This attribution is consistent with the alignment of Ady with Weyer, Scot and Wagstaffe, who were all named as opponents of Glanvill and Casaubon in the witchcraft debate. ST81_WingG822_48, 51; Webster, *Displaying*, sig.a2v–a3r, 106, 166. For examples of this attribution see: Ryan Stark, *Rhetoric, Science & Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, c.2009), 104; Gerhild Scholz Williams and Charles D. Gunnoe, Jr, eds, *Paracelsian Moments: Science, Medicine, & Astrology in Early Modern Europe*, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2002), 244; Stuart Clark, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 160.
157. [Thomas Ady], *The Doctrine of Devils: Proved to be the Grand Apostacy of These Later Times* (London, 1676), 157.
158. [Ady], *Doctrine of Devils*, 38–39.
159. [Ady], *Doctrine of Devils*, 54–55, 57.
160. Wagstaffe, *Question of Witchcraft*, 1671, 99, 146.
161. ‘Ist aber über all fast all zu satyrisch . . . Wann diese Materi in andern Sprachen solte expliciret und andern Ländern, darin solche Tyranny regieret zum besten Kund [word illegible] werden, musten die furnembsten Rationes ettwas weiter

- deduciret und moderatius proponiret werden.' Leo Miller, "A German Critique of Milton's *Areopagitica* in 1647," *Notes and Queries* 234 (1989): 30. On the limitations of Milton's rhetorical persuasiveness and impact see: John J. Makay, "John Milton's Rhetoric," *Central States Speech Journal* 22.3 (1971): esp. 194; William E. Wiethoff, "Milton's Viable Attack on Prior Restraint in the *Areopagitica*," *Free Speech Yearbook* 23.1 (1984): 43. For the attribution to Hübner see: Leigh Penman, "Areopagitica, Freedom of the Press, and Heterodox Religion in the Holy Roman Empire," *The Seventeenth Century* (2017): 1–17. DOI: 10.1080/0268117X.2017.1316515.
162. Bostridge, *Witchcraft and Transformations*, 2–4, 126–127, 137–138, 182, 225, 237. Daston and Park also observe a similar shift in the Enlightenment response to witchcraft and wonders more broadly. Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York; London: Zone Books; Distributed by MIT Press, 1998), 329, 361. For a similar discussion of the political appropriation of miracles, wonders and witchcraft accounts in English Civil War pamphlets see: Darren Oldridge, *The Devil in Early Modern England* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing, 2000), 162–163.
163. Wenham was the last person to be formally convicted of witchcraft in England; however, her execution was suspended and the verdict overturned. On the relationship of these events to the reproduction of Wagstaffe's works see: Hunter, "Decline of Magic," 404–405, esp. n. 19 and n. 20. On the case of Jane Wenham see: Phyllis J. Guskin, "The Context of Witchcraft: The Case of Jane Wenham (1712)," *Eighteenth Century Studies* (1981): 48–71. Alternatively for historical accounts of the trial see: Francis Bragge, *A Defense of the Proceedings against Jane Wenham, Wherein the Possibility and Reality of Witchcraft Are Demonstrated from Scripture, and the Concurrent Testimonies of All Ages* (London, 1712); Francis Bragge, *A Full and Impartial Account of the Discovery of Sorcery and Witchcraft, Practis'd by Jane Wenham . . .* (London, 1712).
164. Waller, *Leaps*, 31–32. According to Gerald Holton such suspension of disbelief in the initial stages of data collection is crucial to ensuring any new theories are developed to the point that they either gain dominance or become disproved. Gerald Holton, *The Scientific Imagination* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 71–72; J. Bronowski, "Humanism and the Growth of Knowledge," in *The Philosophy of Karl Popper*, ed. Paul Arthur Schilpp, 3 vols (La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1974), 1:615–618.
165. For similar discussions of Glanvill see: Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 309; van Leeuwen, *Problem of Certainty*, 71–89, esp. 87.
166. For a summary of the influences of dominant theories on experimentation in today's scientific professions see: Chalmers, *This Thing Called Science*, 104–105.
167. Wagstaffe, *Question of Witchcraft*, 1671, 118–120.

3 The *Lux* and the Letter

Glanvill on the Nature of Spirits and Souls

Shortly after returning to Oxford after Rous's death, Glanvill set out a series of bold, purportedly modernized arguments for the controversial belief in the pre-existence of the soul. Initially published anonymously, the *Lux orientalis; or An Enquiry into the Opinion of the Eastern Sages concerning the Præexistence of Souls. Being a Key to Unlock the Grand Mysteries of Providence, in Relation to Mans Sin and Misery*¹ had an immediate impact on the perception of both Glanvill and his work, and would continue to win him both praise and condemnation well into the twentieth century. The following analysis confirms that Glanvill's primary concern in the *Lux* was to fortify, secure and refine existing arguments for the pre-existence of the soul and suggests that Glanvill aimed to achieve this by applying the rigorous standards of the experimental philosophers. I also argue that this work provides an account of Glanvill's metaphysical philosophy that is closely integrated with his explanations of witchcraft.²

The following analysis demonstrates that we gain a more complete and complex understanding of Glanvill's metaphysical system when the *Lux* and the Letter of Witchcraft are considered together. Glanvill's main focus in the *Lux* is the philosophical demonstration of the pre-existence of the soul and the elucidation of the doctrine of providence, and therefore there is only minimal, direct discussion of the nature of spirits and demons. Yet, theories of souls and spirits were so closely intertwined that Glanvill could not avoid making certain claims about the nature and role of spirits throughout the work. Glanvill often reveals his beliefs about the nature of spirits in the *Lux* when discussing characteristics common to both souls and spirits, or when using theories of spirits as the basis for analogical arguments about the nature of the soul. As shown in Chapter 4, several of the hypotheses Glanvill uses to demonstrate the possibility of witchcraft, including his poisonous vapours hypothesis (PVH), relate directly to the nature of spirits and their ability to interact with the material realm. Glanvill himself suggested it was appropriate to read these two works together, as he referred readers to the *Lux*, albeit not by name, when discussing these theories of spirits in the Letter.³ These inter-textual references ensure that many characteristics attributed to the soul in the *Lux* become particularly significant when

reconstructing Glanvill's metaphysical universe, as it encompassed both spirits and souls.

In the preface to the *Lux*, Glanvill acknowledged Origen, Henry More and George Rust, Dean of Connor, as the sources from which he drew his arguments and, out of respect, characterized his deviations from their philosophies as 'few and inconsiderable'.⁴ This has led to the assumption that Glanvill's metaphysics, regarding the nature of spirits and souls, can be readily conflated with More's.⁵ However, in a recent study of More, A. Rupert Hall suggested that More and Glanvill were less closely aligned than is usually assumed, particularly at this early stage of Glanvill's career.⁶ Furthering this work, my analysis focuses on Glanvill's theories of soul and spirit and, while acknowledging More's influence, identifies several subtle divergences and explores their implications for the interpretation and reception of Glanvill's metaphysics. I also argue that Glanvill's divergences from More's spiritual universe become, under the influence of his method of argumentation and standards of evidence, more pronounced when the theory of souls presented in the *Lux* is considered together with the concept of spirits encountered in the Letter.

On the basis of this clearer understanding of Glanvill's metaphysical universe, the following analysis of Glanvill's theories of spirits and souls determines two key things: first, that Glanvill's independent methodology resulted in a tempering of some of the most controversial aspects of the arguments for pre-existence found in More's work; and second, that these modifications made Glanvill's Neo-platonic tendencies more tolerable to other key figures in his intellectual landscape. Identifying these nuances helps explain why Glanvill was comparatively well received by other influential supporters, who were more critical of More. Such supporters included the nonconformist minister Richard Baxter and Glanvill's fellows at the Royal Society, Robert Boyle, and John Beale.⁷

James Collins, publisher of the 1682 edition of the *Lux* attests to its popularity and notes that although it was printed only once in Glanvill's lifetime, he had seen the sought-after work sell for four and five times its original price.⁸ Indeed Collins cited ongoing demand for the work as his motivation for commissioning the posthumous edition, which was accompanied by Rust's *A Discourse of Truth* and annotations on both works by Henry More. He entitled the collection *Two Choice and Useful Treatises*. The essence of the argument which attracted this enduring attention was concisely summarized by Glanvill in the preface:

that God created all souls together as he did the Angels; That some of them sinned and fell with the other Apostate Spirits; and for their disobedience were thrust into a state of silence and insensibility; That the Divine goodness so provided for them, that they should act a part again in terrestrial Bodies, when they should fitly be prepared for them; and that Adam was set up as our great Protoplast and Representative, who,

had he continued in Innocence and Integrity, we had then been sharers in that happiness which he at first was instated in.

Careful to demonstrate that his interpretation of pre-existence was compatible with the Anglican 'Frame of Orthodox Divinity', Glanvill was also clear that he intended to present not a theological argument, but a well-grounded philosophical account of the hypothesis that souls pre-exist.⁹ In his characteristically colourful phrasing, Glanvill wished to 'solely and sincerely follow the light of Reason and Philosophy', in order to avoid depraving a philosophical hypothesis 'by mingling with it the opinions of modern Theologers, or distort[ing] anything to make it accommodate to their dogmata'.¹⁰ This approach was typical of Glanvill's philosophical method and is related to the methodology espoused in his Letter of Witchcraft, *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* and his collections of essays. Throughout his works, Glanvill employed methodical doubt to assess many commonly held beliefs and philosophical opinions, including the nature of the soul, with a view to developing sound, reasoned arguments that better met the intellectual ideals of his empirically minded contemporaries. Indeed Glanvill used both sermons and published works to demonstrate to his parishioners and the broader readership that science was not, as many feared, a threat to religion. That most of his works were popular enough to warrant several editions suggests that he was often successful in these endeavours. Glanvill believed that applying modern intellectual tools and methodologies to old theological questions actually provided a firmer foundation for one's faith.¹¹ His willingness to argue for marginalized views, such as the pre-existence of the soul, and the fervour with which he defended the new science from charges of atheism, strongly suggests that the *Lux* represents a genuine reflection of Glanvill's beliefs on the subject.

Despite Glanvill's methodological revisionism, the influence of More's *Immortality of the Soul* (1659) on the *Lux* is undeniable. The early portion of the *Lux* is replete with praise for More as the 'great and excellent Restorer of the Platonick Cabbala', who has 'fully triumpht over, and defeated' certain arguments about the soul's nature. Indeed, such tribute is warranted in many ways. Glanvill and More both built their works upon the shared, fundamental belief in a soul which was, essentially, incorporeal and created by God at the beginning of time.¹² On account of this common foundation, Glanvill also adopted many terms famously used by More in his *Immortality of the Soul* and *Antidote against Atheisme*, including spiritual 'vehicles' and 'immaterial substance'.¹³ Moreover, Glanvill defers to More on several occasions, such as when he discusses how theories of sensory perception and the creation story in Genesis have influenced the development of his beliefs about the soul.¹⁴ Given this self-professed admiration for More's work and his adoption of More's terminology, the common suggestion that Glanvill was merely parroting More is understandable, yet misleading. For when interpreting Glanvill's rhetoric, we must remember that Glanvill's need of the patronage and support of influential people, such as More, was essential.

A more detailed analysis of Glanvill's philosophical treatment of the nature of spirits and souls through his own works highlights the incongruities between his claims and those of More.

The Nature of Souls

The first fundamental metaphysical belief presented in the *Lux orientalis*, and significant for Glanvill's theory of spirits, was that the soul was 'wholly spiritual and immaterial'. Like More, Glanvill presented a typical defence of an immaterial and immortal conception of soul by arguing that matter, on its own, was incapable of processing sensory perceptions. By structuring this argument as a direct rebuttal of the Hobbesian material soul, Glanvill ensured that the argument was framed in terms of contemporary philosophical concerns and language. He argued that perceptions from the senses did not provide evidence of the soul's materiality, because the soul also had the ability to comprehend abstract concepts and things that it had never perceived. This introduced an element of rational interpretation into the theory of perception that was not considered appropriate to material substances, even according to that most famous of materialists, Thomas Hobbes.¹⁵ For Glanvill, the logical conclusion was that the incorporeal soul was responsible for 'the higher and nobler operations of imagining, remembering [sic], reasoning, and willing'. Without these higher functions, we would, he assured us, 'remain as senseless as a stone for ever'.¹⁶

By emphasizing the role of rational interpretation in perception, Glanvill must, to meet his own high standards of argumentation, be able to offer an explanation for how this transferral of information from the physical to the incorporeal occurs. The problem of perception, thus framed as an example of an incorporeal entity (the soul) interacting with the physical realm, led Glanvill to posit a solution based on More's *Immortality of the Soul*. This solution constituted a second fundamental metaphysical belief: that human souls, in order to operate in the physical world, needed to assume material vehicles. The nature of the vehicles a soul could assume took different forms depending on the moral state of that soul. According to Glanvill, untainted, uncorrupted souls inhabited pure aetherial vehicles often associated with angelic beings. Then once a soul had sinned, it assumed an imperfect, yet refined aerial vehicle associated with spirits/spiritual beings. Should the soul's moral state continue to deteriorate, so too would the quality and material substance of its vehicle until the soul was forced into the hardships of a gross, earthy material body.¹⁷ Despite drawing heavily on More's work, Glanvill diverged from his account of this process in a small yet significant way. According to both Glanvill and More, souls are inherently reliant on their vehicles to actuate matter and perform any action in the material universe.¹⁸ However, Glanvill and More diverge on the question of the soul's relationship with its vehicle. More states explicitly in his annotations on the 1682 edition of the *Lux* that when a soul's earthly vehicle expires, the spirit

simply reverts back to full control of its aerial vehicle, even after an untimely death and regardless of the moral state of that soul. More cites ghosts who appear to reveal their killer's identity as evidence of this interpretation.¹⁹ Glanvill, in contrast, held that souls which were divested of the 'vehicles' or 'instruments' appropriate to their moral state would be rendered completely dormant.²⁰ That is, even though a soul housed in a corporeal, earthly body retained the vestiges of its previously inhabited celestial and aerial vehicles, if a person died before they had improved the moral state of their soul to the point it was again worthy of an aerial or aetherial body, their soul would enter a dormant state until a new terrestrial body became available.²¹ The significance of this difference between Glanvill and More will be discussed further below.

The third and arguably most important fundamental characteristic of the soul presented in the *Lux* was also related to the soul's incorporeality. Glanvill argued that the soul's immaterial nature required that it must, necessarily, be pre-existent. He argued that an incorporeal spirit would not be able to reproduce itself, as reproduction would require either the generation of a being from nothing, an ability proper only to God, or the separation of a part of the spirit itself, and divisibility was an attribute proper to material substances.²² However, a more significant argument for pre-existence followed on from this assumption. Glanvill argued that it would contravene God's 'goodness and benignity' to suggest that he would punish an innocent creation by imprisoning it in a corporeal body on account of Original Sin.²³ Thus, to maintain God's benignity, the universe must be replete with souls, immediately equipped with vehicles of some material nature. For Glanvill, souls must be immediately embodied, for a dormant, vehicle-less soul is unable to commit the sin which would see it condemned to an earthly life.

The Nature of Spirits

These three fundamental metaphysical beliefs about the soul, that it is incorporeal, capable of occupying material vehicles and pre-existent, provide the foundation for four significant observations about the nature of spirits presented in the *Lux*. First, by arguing that the pre-existent soul is immediately embodied in an aetherial vehicle, and is therefore capable of sin (as demonstrated by the fall of the angel Lucifer), Glanvill implied a level of angelic fallibility. Given the association of gradations of materiality with moral purity, the angelic fallibility proven by Lucifer's fall indicated that even angels were *not* incorporeal. Glanvill was familiar with the notion of angelic corporeality, writing that he was 'sure, many, if not the most of the Antient [sic] Fathers, thought Angels themselves to be embodied'. He also stated that fallen angels, and likely Adam's soul too, would have joined 'with the other Apostate Spirits', confirming his belief in a hierarchy of spirits in which all were embodied.²⁴ Indeed, given Glanvill's belief in the ability of the human soul to exist

within a variety of substantial or elemental bodies (including our earthly bodies), it is conceivable that humans could be included in this hierarchy of embodied spiritual beings. The distinction between humans and spiritual beings for Glanvill was the nature of our bodies and the species of our soul, not the belief that humans are embodied while spiritual beings are not.

Glanvill's second observation about the nature of spirits relates to his fundamental beliefs about the nature of the soul and his argument regarding "divine benignity". Glanvill addresses the problem of evil in the physical world by claiming that the doctrinal belief that God is perfectly good supports the belief that the creation of humanity was an act of kindness on God's part. According to Glanvill's metaphysical system, when Adam's soul was first created it was a perfect creature with a pure aetherial body and free will. However, when Adam's soul began its moral deterioration, it would have transitioned from a perfect aetherial body to a refined aerial body, then to a body of a less pure aerial form. As Adam's soul continued to sin, it would, eventually, have become unfit to occupy an aerial body of any quality. As previously discussed, a soul whose morality had degraded to this extent would have been unable to actuate its aerial body and 'thrust into a state of silence and insensibility'. So, it was through God's infinite kindness that Adam, the first human, was spared a horrific fate when he was established as 'our great Protoplast and representative' in the first terrestrial body.²⁵

This moralized system also allowed Glanvill to maintain different qualities for terrestrial bodies. On account of this gradation, Glanvill maintained that 'had he [Adam] continued in Innocence and Integrity', humankind would also have continued in the state of happiness which Adam and Eve enjoyed in the Garden of Eden. This suggests that not only their knowledge, but the bodies which Adam and Eve possessed in the Garden were superior to those bestowed upon mankind after the Fall. The analogy associating Adam with the fallen angels blurred an already vague distinction between the spirits, angels and souls, who were all included in 'the creation of heaven, and light'. This again raises the question of whether angels, spirits and humans have souls unique to their species from the beginning of time, or whether the different species of spiritual beings merely reflect souls in different bodies, that is, at different stages of moral degradation. However, Glanvill distinguishes expressly between angels, spirits and human souls prior to this, writing that 'God created all souls together *as he did the Angels*' and 'Supposing that some Souls fell, *when the Angels did*'.²⁶ Glanvill may well have attributed to humankind a spectrum of states and existences; however, these passages in which human souls are repeatedly distinguished from other spiritual entities suggest that while he believed these three species had much in common he considered them as distinct species of spiritual beings.

Glanvill's third observation about the nature of spirits which was dependent upon his fundamental beliefs about the soul's nature is presented during a slightly divergent discussion about the laws of Nature. Glanvill wrote that 'the other rank of Beings, [that is] Spirits, which are not subject to

corporeal motions, are also dispos'd of by a Law proper to their natures'. With this statement, Glanvill confirmed that he believed spiritual beings had a set of laws and restraints upon their nature which were unique to aerial or aetherial beings. He argued that the congruity, the suitableness, of the soul to inhabit aetherial, aerial or terrestrial bodies was reliant on an inherent inclination, not will or choice. So, while the state of the body inhabited by a spirit (or soul) was a reflection of the moral state of the immaterial portion, the entity could only influence the state of its body through the moral choices it made. The spirit could not migrate between, fashion or modify its bodies in order to carry out certain activities, for instance in order to perform an action in the terrestrial realm.²⁷ To emphasize this point, Glanvill made an analogy between the soul's moral state as related to the form of its vehicle, and the concept of gravity, where the concept of gravity is a pre-Newtonian natural law of Nature which Glanvill believes ensures 'the ascent of light, and descent of heavy bodies'.²⁸

In positing a regulatory law, a mechanism which explained and controlled the transition of souls and spiritual beings from one type of body to another, Glanvill made future understanding of these natural processes conceivable. This harmonizing element of Glanvill's metaphysical system is very significant. By demystifying spiritual processes in this way, Glanvill aligned himself and his metaphysics with the ideals of contemporary natural philosophy. Indeed, that this was Glanvill's very intention is quite clear. He justified this analogy by explaining that he must 'doubt when all is done' that such movements between bodies would need 'be resolv'd into a principle that is not merely corporeal', preferring to explain phenomena 'either by the Laws of Mechanicks or conceivable Congruities'.²⁹

Glanvill contrasts his attitude on this matter with that of 'The Platonists', a collective noun which would have included Henry More. Although he ultimately declines to engage with or entertain the proposal, concluding that he has 'no need to ingage further about this [hypothesis]', Glanvill acknowledges that some Platonic thinkers, like More, 'would have the Soul of the world to be the great Instrument of all such distributions, as also of the Phenomena, that are beyond the powers of matter'.³⁰ Indeed, despite including the standard caveat that this was 'no unlikely Hypothesis', the caveat is here evidently employed to soften his ultimate rejection of the principle, rather than to justify the suggestion. He goes on to expressly recommend avoiding spiritual principles of this kind, indicating that he did not, at that time, support More's belief in a Spirit of Nature, that is:

an immaterial, universal hylarchic principle which was invoked as a moving, ordering, and animating principle in all physical phenomena . . .
"the vicarious power of God upon this great automaton, the world".³¹

By acknowledging the unknowability of an entity such as a Spirit of Nature, yet denying its place in natural philosophy, Glanvill pre-empted Robert

Boyle. In 1675 and 1686 Boyle chastised More vehemently for misappropriating his hydrostatical experiments in an attempt to prove the existence of this entity.³² Glanvill rejects the Spirit of Nature in favour of natural laws, thereby rejecting More's animistic cosmology. For instance, even if a phenomenon could only be conceived of as outside the realm of mechanical laws and natural forces or congruities, Glanvill preferred to suggest the following in explanation:

we may have recourse to the Arbitrary managements of those invisible Ministers of Equity and Justice, which without doubt the world is plentifully stored with. For it cannot be conceived that those active Spirits are idle or unimployed in the momentous concerns of the Universe . . .³³

Glanvill argues here that there is no Platonic Spirit of Nature, but that we should be able to derive a plausible understanding of phenomena from mechanical laws or the natural inclinations of matter, as observed, for example, in the effect of gravity. However, when neither of these two avenues of explanation prove satisfactory, it could, under certain circumstances, be acceptable to invoke the intervention of spirits as an explanatory power. Indeed, this is exactly what we see Glanvill do in his Letter of Witchcraft.

The fourth and final important observation about spirits in the *Lux orientalis* was that spiritual beings had a definite, naturally inherent involvement in the physical realm. Although the possibility of spiritual beings performing actions in the terrestrial world was clearly indicated in the *Lux*,³⁴ it was in his writings on witchcraft that Glanvill expanded upon the nature and range of the interactions possible between spiritual beings and the physical world.

Interactions between Souls, Spirits, and the Material World

Foreshadowing my analysis in Chapter 4, Glanvill's explanations of diabolic witchcraft in the Letter are generally compatible with the metaphysical system delineated in the *Lux*. In essence, Glanvill's main aim in the Letter was to posit a plausible mechanism which accounted for the existence of diabolic witchcraft in a way which could ultimately prove observable and verifiable.³⁵ Building on work being undertaken by Robert Boyle, George Starkey and Jan Baptiste van Helmont, which led to the realization that air was composed of substances with characteristics that were now being identified and measured, Glanvill's explanations for witchcraft offered a philosophically plausible explanation of how spirits interacted with the physical realm.³⁶ However, whether Glanvill's theory of spirits actually solved the problem of spiritual-physical interaction or whether he merely pushed the problem a step further away, depends on whether one is satisfied that it is more feasible for a spirit to influence the element of air than to influence physical, that is earthly bodies.

Biblically, the view that air was the natural medium of spirits was readily supported. In Ephesians ii: 2 it was stated that Satan was 'the prince

of the powers of the air', implying that air was the natural realm of his spiritual influence.³⁷ However, while this biblical statement may have convinced Glanvill the clergyman of the ability of spirits to interact with the substance of air, it did not meet the stringent requirements of Glanvill the philosopher and esteemed Fellow of the Royal Society. Nor would a single unsubstantiated biblical quote have adequately satisfied Glanvill the defender of Christianity against enthusiasm, atheism and Hobbesian materialism. So in the *Lux*'s preface he stipulates that 'Scripture-evidence is not so proper for this place', and indicates that in many cases he would *not* 'willingly urge Scripture as a proof of anything'.³⁸ Glanvill realized that in order for his metaphysics to be convincing in the new empirical age, he needed to support his metaphysical system with a logical approach that was compatible with contemporary natural-philosophical methodologies. The preface clearly indicates this was the task Glanvill hoped to achieve in writing the *Lux*.

As previously indicated, Glanvill assumed a level of familiarity with the material from the *Lux* in his Letter of Witchcraft, and offered additional details about his theories of spirit that are important for understanding his overall metaphysical system. In the Letter, Glanvill used three approaches in his discussion of the spiritual realm: natural theology (or analogy with Nature), analogy with the human soul, and biblical evidence. He used these three approaches to support his view that there were three main constituent building blocks of life: the soul, the spirit and the body. By "spirit" he means "vital spirits". In order to avoid any confusion regarding this term I will use a specific terminology from this point forward. I will refer to vital or animating spirits as the *vehicle* or the *medium* (in line with the *Lux*) and will reserve the term *spirits* to refer only to spiritual beings. For throughout his writings on witchcraft, as in the *Lux*, the crucial "spirit" of the soul-spirit-body trinity was the "vehicle" or "medium", which Glanvill believed allowed souls to interact with matter.

Spirits and souls were commonly thought to be immaterial, and the means through which immaterial entities influenced material bodies was central to any seventeenth-century discussion of diabolic witchcraft.³⁹ As described in the *Lux*, this means of interaction was also central to any cosmological philosophy which sought to account for the actions attributed to spiritual beings in the Bible or to understand the mechanisms of the human mind-body connection. How, for example, do people turn the desire to pick up a cup into the actual movement of their hand? Glanvill handled this problem quite adroitly, if not with great originality. He did not actually offer an explanation for how this immaterial/material interaction occurs. Instead, he simply emphasized that we cannot deny that it does.⁴⁰ In the early modern period it was widely accepted that mankind had souls that were somehow connected to our body and that this connection was demonstrated by the two-way relay of information between our thoughts and our bodies, and between our sensory organs and our intellect. Some dualists

took the extreme view that this was not a causal connection, but the result of two predetermined plays designed to coincide perfectly. While this was still a relationship of sorts, according to this second scenario, the causal link between intention and movement was attributed to the will of God rather than a mechanism within the human.⁴¹ This is, of course, a very simplified account of a complex philosophical question, but it demonstrates the point that although many philosophers proposed theories about this relationship, most conceded defeat, acknowledging that ultimately, the mind-body relationship was a mystery which remained inexplicable, yet could not be denied.⁴² Glanvill recognized that such mysteries could be difficult for some to accept, but used this discussion effectively as an instrument to discredit those 'who contemn and laugh at every thing that their narrow noddles comprehend not'.⁴³

Glanvill then used the accepted mystery of the body-soul relationship and this universal human experience as an analogy that could inform us about the nature of spirits and how they influence the material world. In his discussion of witchcraft Glanvill stated:

we perceive in our selves, that all Sense is caus'd and excited by motion made in matter; And when those motions which convey sensible impressions to the Brain, the Seat of Sense, are intercepted, Sense is lost.⁴⁴

This established that in order to perceive the material world, a being must itself have some level of corporeality, because it must have a material component which can operate as a sensory receptor. Glanvill combined this corporeal requirement with the existence of witchcraft in a Socratic fashion to demonstrate the likelihood that spiritual beings had corporeal bodies of some nature. In the *Letter*, Glanvill established the existence of diabolic witchcraft, via testimony, to a level which he believed met the Royal Society's early evidential standards. Granting this, diabolic witchcraft could then be used to demonstrate that spirits were involved in the world.⁴⁵ If spirits were active in the material world, then it followed that spirits had the ability to perceive the material world. Then, as perception requires some level of corporeality, it follows that spiritual beings must have a material component. In Glanvill's writings on witchcraft, unlike in the *Lux*, this conclusion was not left to the reader to ascertain. Glanvill wrote:

At this turn, Sir, you may perceive that I have again made use of the Platonic Hypothesis, That Spirits are Embodied, upon which indeed a great part of my Discourse is grounded . . .

He continued:

if we suppose Spirits perfectly to be disjoyn'd from all matter, 'tis not conceivable how they can have the sense of any thing: For how material

Objects should any way be perceiv'd, or felt without *vital union* with matter, 'tis not possible to imagine.

Then, in the final link to the human realm:

Since then the greatest part of the World consists of the finer portions of matter, and our own Souls are immediately united unto these, 'tis infinitely probable to conjecture, that the nearer orders of Spirits are vitally joyn'd to such Bodies.⁴⁶

Glanvill also commented on the gradations of spirits in one of the most colourful passages in his work concerning the nature of and means through which apparitions manifest themselves:

'tis a very hard and painful thing for them [spirits], to force their thin and tenuous Bodies into a visible consistence . . . And this is perhaps a reason why there are so few Apparitions . . . which I confess holds more, in the apparitions of good than evil Spirits; because the great subtilty and tenuity of the Bodies of the former [good spirits], which will require far greater degrees of compression, and consequently of pain, to make them visible; whereas the latter are more faeculent and gross, and so nearer allied to palpable consistencies, and more easily reducable to appearance and visibility.⁴⁷

According to Glanvill, the notion that our souls were encased in aerial or vaporous vehicles was further evidenced by cases of witchcraft. In addition to a variety of medical theories of death, which helped explain associated phenomena such as revenants and ghosts, Glanvill suggested that when the witch's soul left its body to attend the Sabbath, it flew around in its 'immediate vehicle of Air, or more subtle matter'. In this instance, both the ability to control one's aerial body and the ability of the physical body to survive the separation were made possible through the properties of the "poisonous vapours" transferred to the witch by the familiar spirit, as will be discussed further in Chapter 4.⁴⁸

Glanvill's Metaphysical System

The additional information about the nature of spiritual beings and the clarifications about the nature of the soul found in Glanvill's Letter reinforce several of the arguments made in the *Lux*. By combining the information about Glanvill's metaphysical universe from these two sources it becomes evident that "life", essentially, had three constituent parts:

1. Souls: immaterial entities responsible for rational thought;
2. Bodies: earthly, material bodies; and

3. Vehicles: bodies of subtle matter acting as the medium between the immaterial and material, which have the power to animate material bodies—otherwise known as the vital spirits.

Further to this, in Glanvill's system, a life form did not necessarily possess all three parts. Animals, believed by some to be devoid of souls, could be attributed only bodies and vehicles; humans happen to have all three components. Glanvill's hierarchy of spiritual beings evidently had two parts, souls and vehicles of subtle matter.⁴⁹

Glanvill supported this view that spirits were composed of two parts, a soul (or equivalent) *vitally* linked with a vehicle of subtle matter, through a number of other analogies with Nature. He stated that it was common for Nature to proceed 'by orderly steps and gradations'. That it was therefore unlikely there would be 'precipitous leaps' between beings 'plunged into the grossest matter',⁵⁰ i.e. humans, and those pure, immortal spirits positioned at the top of the Platonic hierarchy of beings, without there being a hierarchy of beings of subtle bodies in between. This was not a strikingly convincing argument for the existence of souls and spirits for those who did not presuppose the existence of the Christian God and angels, but in the seventeenth-century context of natural theology, it was a common theory.⁵¹ This analogy enabled Glanvill to reconcile two famous conflicting biblical statements. By incorporating a hierarchy of spirits, Glanvill's system explained how the Devil, the Prince of Air, could create evil in the world (Ephesians ii, 2) while still being confined in chains of darkness deep in the hollows of the Earth (according to II Peter ii, 4). Glanvill's theory provided the Devil with a vast array of servants, the lower level spirits, who were able to do his bidding on Earth.⁵²

When extrapolating this analogical argument that Nature prefers hierarchies, Glanvill references another earlier analogy when he states that 'the greatest part of the world consists of the finer portions of matter', meaning aerial and aethereal substances.⁵³ Glanvill had previously speculated that 'the Air and all the Regions above us may have their invisible intellectual Agents, of nature like unto our souls' and, as with diabolic witchcraft, it would be ignorant to deny they exist simply because we cannot perceive them.⁵⁴ Indeed Glanvill posited that every type of substance, even the invisible ones, may have its own 'variety of Intellectual creatures' or ensouled creatures inhabiting different types of bodies.⁵⁵ To put it another way, just as all regions of the Earth have their own inhabitants, he suggests, there may be 'distinct kinds of bodies' proper to the aerial and aetherial regions above us. Glanvill argued that experimental philosophy would soon demonstrate the danger of assuming these regions were uninhabited, as the 'improvement of microscopical observations', for example, would soon discover life forms that mankind had not previously been able to perceive. Just as Glanvill expected experimental investigations into gases would soon lead to a means of detecting and measuring the poisonous vapours infused into the

witch by her familiar spirit, so too may science make spirits, the creatures of 'all the vast spaces above', perceptible as well.⁵⁶

Based on the combined reading of the *Lux* and the Letter, we note three key things about Glanvill's conception of spirits. First, Glanvill's theories cleverly sidestepped (rather than solved) the problem of the interaction of spirits with the material realm by creating a scenario in which the solution is recognized as a mystery. This quasi-solution is validated by linking the problem of spiritual-material interactions with two similar mysterious yet undeniable natural phenomena: the means by which the human soul/intellect moves the body and the existence of diabolic witchcraft. Glanvill's Socratic argument, if accepted, removed the need to develop an adequate explanation for the precise process by which spiritual-material interaction occurs.

The second belief about spirits and souls which is clarified by the Letter is the argument that hierarchical structures and biological diversity were inherent to Nature and therefore proper to the spiritual (aerial and aetherial) realms as well as the terrestrial, plant and animal kingdoms. This belief rendered Glanvill's theory about the nature of spirits and souls flexible enough to encompass alternative theories that sought to attribute bodies of aether, air, light or fire to spiritual beings, and led him to admit there was more than one plausible theory about the nature of the substance of the vehicle of the more refined soul.⁵⁷ According to Glanvill's conception of spirit there was room for the possibility of both in the form of different species of spiritual beings! Indeed he provides an example of an alternative breed of spirit in his discussion of the Genii, and he alludes to more in the *Lux* when, for example, he discusses the 'other order of intellectual creatures'.⁵⁸

Third, prior knowledge of the *Lux* is necessary to understand the full implications of several statements about spirits made in Glanvill's discussion of witchcraft. For example, Glanvill described the spirit's "soul-like" element as *necessarily* 'Vitally joyn'd' to a subtle material body, but does not explore the implications of this notion in the Letter.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, this is a belief which was clearly informed by the *Lux* and which is directly linked to Glanvill's belief in the soul's pre-existence.⁶⁰ When exploring this idea in the *Lux*, Glanvill reinforced the notion that a soul detached from its material body was not the equivalent of an immortal, purely immaterial being. Instead, Glanvill's souls could go through many existences and stages of corruption (that is, a descent towards a grossly material existence) and repurification. However, when a human soul became separated completely from matter after death, it did not revert back to a state of immaterial purity. Instead, a human soul without a body appropriate to its moral state was forced into a dormant state until a suitable body became available again. In connection with this theory from the *Lux*, Glanvill suggested that souls retained the subtle vehicles they accumulated through their moral descent and therefore, these were not necessarily dispersed immediately after the death of their earthly bodies. The result was that a human soul could, after death, regain control over its aerial body, if a person had led a virtuous enough life and

so were once again able to actuate that body. In his Letter, this notion was linked to explanations for astral travelling, ghosts, apparitions and even reincarnation. Conversely Glanvill suggests that the consciousness of people whose morality has degenerated beyond the tolerance of their terrestrial body reverts to their subtle bodies, which allow them to be drawn through the Earth's crust to reach the

huge vast cavities within the body of the Earth . . . in which dark prisons, they do severe penance for their past impieties, and have their senses, which upon earth they did so fondly indulge, and took such care to gratifie, now persecuted with darkness, stench, and horror.

This conjecture, well framed within the 'French Philosophy' of Descartes,⁶¹ supported the possibility that the breed of spirits posing as witches' familiars may actually be 'wicked spirits of our own kind and nature, and possibly the same that have been Sorcerers and Witches in this life'.⁶²

This broader perspective on spirits and souls emerges in the Letter because Glanvill's metaphysics are here presented in a form related directly to his explanations for witchcraft. In the Letter, the question of the soul's pre-existence was not the subject of debate; pre-existence was presumed, having been proven in the *Lux*. In the *Lux*, Glanvill adopted the terminology of spirit devised by Henry More and made famous in works such as the *Conjectura cabbalistica* (1653) and *Immortality of the Soul* (1659).⁶³ This use of More's terminology in Glanvill's descriptions of the 'aerial vehicle' of the soul as an 'indiscerpible' yet 'penetrable' and 'immaterial' substance, creates the impression that the *Lux* is merely restating More's ideas. However, Glanvill was not bound by the formal conventions in the same way in the Letter. As a result, the Letter emphasizes two important qualifications on the philosophical treatment of souls in the preface to the *Lux*. These qualifications suggest that Glanvill was seeking to subtly distance himself from More's work in certain ways. First, he asked to be excused for using the arguments for pre-existence given by 'Origen, Dr. More and the Author of the *Letter of Resolution*'. He justifies himself on the grounds that his intention was to fortify and secure those arguments against some most considerable exceptions,⁶⁴ a statement which foreshadows the revised methodology which Glanvill sought to apply to the question.

With the second qualification Glanvill justified his 'using many of the same words, and some of the same *phrases* and *expressions*, that those others . . . have made use of', arguing that they were the terms appropriate to the topic and most meaningful and familiar to those educated in the discourse. However, he followed this almost immediately with a more poignant caveat:

If in the following papers I have used any expressions of others [incorrectly] . . . I must beg pardon for my memory . . . where I writ this Discourse, I had not one of my books within my reach . . . Nor am I

at leasure now to examine them and this, to see whether I can find any such . . .⁶⁵

This is not a trope Glanvill commonly employed, and given the nature of the book that aims to improve the quality of the arguments for pre-existence, it is a rather damaging statement about the quality of the work. That is, unless Glanvill was not intending to maintain the façade of anonymous authorship, or wanted to ensure a ready defence of his work. Indeed, Glanvill sent the *Lux* to both Baxter and Boyle, ensuring that its authorship was anonymous for an impressively short period of time. Yet, when one considers that the *Lux* was being sent out with a view to securing support of highly influential contemporaries, the inclusion of these caveats seems counter-productive, especially given that they suggest a questionable methodological standard.⁶⁶ That is so, until one reads Glanvill's Letter of Witchcraft, published some four years later. For what was veiled by the obsequious praise and imitation of terminology in the *Lux* was stated explicitly as early as page eight of the Letter. In reply to those who argued that the idea of immaterial entities operating in the physical realm is ridiculous, Glanvill begins his argument for the corporeality of spirits by making a startling concession to these critics. He agrees that the notion of a 'substance immaterial is as much a contradiction as they can fancy'.⁶⁷ Indeed, prior to this, in his dedication to the *Scepsis scientifica* (1665), Glanvill describes 'immaterial Substances' as 'unbounded prerogatives' which 'are bestowed upon Matter' in a manner which resembles the 'branches of a dangerous Cabbala'.⁶⁸ These admissions are significant because the notion of an immaterial substance is at the core of Henry More's philosophy of spirit and his famous work, the *Immortality of the Soul*.

Henry More on the Nature of the Soul

More's metaphysics and the subtleties of his theory of souls were adapted as necessary throughout his career. For this reason, I focus on the 1659 edition of the *Immortality of the Soul* as the basis for this comparison between More and Glanvill: this was More's most complete treatise on the nature of souls when the *Lux orientalis* was published in 1662. More states explicitly, several times throughout the work, that there is 'no incongruity nor impossibility' nor 'contradiction in the very termes' of the concept of 'Incorporeal Substance'. An incorporeal substance or soul activates matter through a 'Vital Congruity' shared by the body and soul, which is described as the 'noblest Principle of Life' and beyond a 'gross Mechanical' explanation. More defines matter as having two key properties: it is extended—occupies space—and is impenetrable yet discernible—that is although its mass can be divided and separated into parts, all substances can be broken down to a particle which cannot be penetrated or divided further. In contrast, the immaterial substance of spirit as defined by More has the two qualities of

extension and indiscerpibility or spissitude. This second characteristic, spissitude, refers to the ability of the spiritual substance to change its density, providing a certain malleability and transparency. This spissitude prevents the spiritual entity from being dispersed or divided into parts and thus losing its integral identity, even when in the act of melding with a material substance or body.⁶⁹ However, despite the truth of John Henry's observation, that this characteristic of indiscerpibility is evidence that More was 'ineluctably drawn towards a materialist concept of spirit', More is not necessarily contradicting himself.⁷⁰

More maintains unequivocally that the immaterial substance of the soul is unlike any known substance in the material realm of extended and impenetrable matter. Indeed, while struggling with the limitations of language and his forced reliance on materialistic terminology in the later *Enchiridion metaphysicum*, More suggests that empty space, by virtue of its extension and immateriality, provides a better analogy than any known material substance through which the immaterial substance of spirit can be conceived.⁷¹ So if one is prepared to grant that More resorts to these analogies to work around legitimate linguistic limitations, his conception of the nature of the soul's immaterial substance consistently remains conceptually and physically distinct from the 'terrestriall body' or 'vehicle' which it inhabits and animates.⁷²

Both D.P. Walker and John Henry have described More as troublesomely inconsistent in regard to the capabilities he attributes to the soul in isolation, that is, the actions a soul is capable of independently of any matter or "vehicles" which it may choose to assume.⁷³ More repeatedly states that the immaterial substance of the soul is an active principle, that is, an entity which is capable of initiating self-motion, yet he then seems to go on to claim that this very property is only activated when the soul is joined with matter. The significance of this apparent contradiction is actually minimised if the reader is prepared to consider such statements in context.

More makes these claims about the capabilities of the soul after establishing an association between the soul and intellectual faculties (such as morality, reason) and certain functions of memory (namely, those functions which relate the remembering of reasoning skills and abstract concepts and generalities which do not rely on the input of sensory data).⁷⁴ Given More's indication that spirits 'assumed their airy vehicles' when they needed to interact with the material realm, it is fair to assume that when More later states that souls 'cannot act but in dependance on Matter', this can be read, quite fairly, as a reference to actions which produce physical effects in the material universe. When More made this statement, he attributed an impotent state to the disembodied soul in which it could think and remember and make choices, but not act on them or bring about effects in the terrestrial realm without first assuming some form of vehicle. More did not imply the completely dormant state of the disembodied spirit/soul which is found explicitly in the *Lux*.⁷⁵ Rather More's souls, in an entirely consistent

fashion, remained intellectually and emotionally active with the ability to *assume* the different vehicles available to them when action in the material realm was desired.

This reading of the *Immortality of the Soul* is supported by More's criticism of Glanvill in his annotations to the *Lux*. In the annotations More challenged Glanvill's favoured account of the transmutation of the soul's vehicle, on the grounds that Glanvill's account allowed for the likelihood that some souls would enter into a state of torpor as they awaited the availability of appropriate earthly bodies.⁷⁶ There is little room for confusion on this point, for More informed us that souls, which he conceived of as motivated by a vital force and as unrestrained by any potential mechanical processes governed by natural laws, could revert to their aerial body after death and continue to function almost at will.⁷⁷ Thus ghosts of murder victims could, *when they desired to*, use aerial bodies to inform loved ones of the identity of their murderer, as the ghost of Anne Walker reportedly did.⁷⁸ More's example of a ghost assuming an aerial body is incompatible with Glanvill's concept of a soul whose suitability for possession of a body of a particular nature, and the ability to manipulate that body, was inextricably linked to the soul's moral state. Glanvill actively distances himself from the notion that the dead wilfully choose to resume control over their aerial bodies after death when he locates the souls of the wicked deep within the Earth.⁷⁹

However, as seen with Glanvill's invocation of the mind-body problem, this exposition does not explain *how* the soul activates and interacts with these more subtle bodies. While Glanvill sought to use analogous, observed phenomena to circumvent the issue, More invoked the notion of 'Substances Immaterial or Incorporeal' as the apparatus through which souls interacted with their vehicles.⁸⁰ This point is important for our comparison to Glanvill, for despite any possible interpretations or contradictions within More's beliefs about the relationship of the soul to its various physical vehicles, the immaterial substance which constitutes the soul remains consistent. Thus Glanvill's statement that the notion of an immaterial substance is inherently flawed represents a notable deviation from More's account.

Glanvill's Approach to Metaphysics

The stringent methodological standards of reason, logic and verifiability, which Glanvill professes to apply in the preface, also continued beyond the writing of the *Lux*. Glanvill claimed therein to have 'followed the mind of the Masters of the Origenian Cabbala; but kept my self to the conduct of those Principles, that I judged most rational'.⁸¹ This notion was reiterated with regard to Glanvill's discussion of the nature of spirits in his writings on witchcraft:

And I'll presume to adde on this occasion, (though I love not to be confident in affirming) that there is none of the Platonical Supposals

I have used, but what I could make appear to be fair and reasonable, to the capable and unprejudic'd.⁸²

So again, even though the *Lux* may have been received by some as an uninspired rehashing of More's theory of spirits, what Glanvill professed were 'very few and inconsiderable' differences of opinion were actually quite notable.⁸³ Glanvill's theory of soul resisted the temptation to engage with the problem of how the immaterial portion of the soul moves its vehicle, a choice which won him respect in philosophical circles and protected his theories from the type of criticism directed at More's "uninvestigable" notion of a Spirit of Nature.⁸⁴

Glanvill's application of this philosophical framework to the question of pre-existence and the problem of witchcraft differentiated his work from More's more significantly than has been acknowledged. The theories of witchcraft Glanvill presented in his Letter went far beyond the brief mention of witches made in More's *Immortality of the Soul*.⁸⁵ Glanvill's theories also engaged with the search for tangible proof in a direct way that eluded More at this time. Although More fully supported Glanvill's investigations into contemporary witchcraft cases, including the Drummer of Tedworth, from very early in Glanvill's career,⁸⁶ More did not apply the same standards to the case studies included in his own works. Thus, for example, he repeatedly included enticingly metaphorical accounts of the ghost of 'Cuntius of Pentsh' who plagued the people of Trawtenaw in Bohemia 1567 until his body was burnt, freeing the town of his 'malicious Gobling'.⁸⁷ This was just one account which Webster used to call the validity of More's sources into question.⁸⁸ More went to great lengths to establish his epistemology and the validity of sensory perception in determining truth;⁸⁹ however, his arguments about the soul remained primarily rational and rhetorical. Through his advocacy of the method of the Royal Society Glanvill was more directly invested in experimental philosophy and methodologies than More, a characterization which is evident in the disparities between these earlier works on witchcraft and the soul.

More would become involved in Glanvill's later investigations into witchcraft and assume control of the editing of the Collection of Relations which appeared in the posthumous editions of the *Saducismus*.⁹⁰ However, in his own writings, More focused more on historical accounts of ghosts, such as the dream visitation recorded by Aven-Zoar Albumaron the Arabian Physician or the reported sighting of the spirit of Marsilio Ficino by Michael Mercatus.⁹¹ These passages demonstrate less deliberate analysis of these accounts as testimonial evidence, a methodological trait for which Glanvill's works on witchcraft were notably praised.⁹² This seems to be another manifestation of what has been described as More's lack of 'experimental abilities' and diminishing 'understanding of the methods and purposes of natural philosophy'.⁹³ Although his adherence to his own unique processes ultimately enhanced More's significance as a philosopher,⁹⁴ More stands in

contrast to Glanvill in regard to his level of engagement with contemporary experimental methodologies. Glanvill very deliberately prioritized seeking out recent and personally verified accounts, as presented even in his earliest relations of the tale of the Drummer of Tedworth.⁹⁵ Indeed More's deferential to Glanvill in the investigation of the events at Tedworth, testified to in a letter to Lady Conway, can be read as both recognition and support for Glanvill's attempt to produce a Baconian 'natural history of witchcraft' and an acknowledgement that Glanvill's approach to these particular issues may be more well received than his own.⁹⁶

In More's discussion, there was little attempt to favour one explanation for ghosts over another based on analysis of the possible theories or understandings of comparable natural phenomena. Although More was both a member of the Royal Society and, nominally, a supporter of their experimental method,⁹⁷ he did not extend his discussion of supernatural visitations to include speculation about how one might go about determining which type of visitation one had experienced, and there was little argumentation offered in support of the conclusions that More drew about the nature of souls/spirits on the basis of the accounts he included. For example, there was no explanation offered, theological or otherwise, to support the assumption that the 'aereal Vehicles of Souls' were the same as those inhabited by Genii.⁹⁸ By comparison, Glanvill went to great lengths to justify his suggestion that souls have the ability to inhabit different kinds of bodies. To this end, he provided both theological arguments based around the accounts of the fall of Satan and the fall of man from the Garden of Eden, and a series of analogies from nature, including the comparison with life forms which Glanvill believed would be discovered through improved instrumentation.⁹⁹

This difference in approach reflects a difference in intent. Although not an avid experimental philosopher himself, Glanvill is certainly seeking to present his work on witchcraft as the first step towards an investigation of natural phenomena. More, on the other hand, has been characterized as primarily interested in pursuing knowledge of the divine. This is not to diminish the importance of More's work, nor to challenge that his works were a great influence on Glanvill and other influential natural philosophers including, it has been argued, Isaac Newton. However, Glanvill's intent is reflected in the methodology behind his investigations into witchcraft, and in preparation for this, his theories of soul and spirit, which were carefully framed so that they were more compatible with the methodological ideals of the experimental philosophers of the Royal Society. Boyle's support of Glanvill's investigations into witchcraft, particularly in contrast to his criticisms of More, suggests that Glanvill's efforts were somewhat successful, explaining Hall's observation that 'More's credulity has more often received adverse comment than that of Joseph Glanvill' or other contemporary believers in witchcraft.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, it could be suggested that More was aware of Glanvill's divergence on the notion of spirits and that this inspired his dispute with Richard Baxter shortly after Glanvill's death.

Glanvill wrote to Baxter, an influential nonconformist preacher, on 4 August [1662] sending him a copy of the *Lux orientalis* and requesting his reflections on it.¹⁰¹ This is an intriguing twist, as Glanvill clearly states that he is aware that Baxter does not agree with the theory of pre-existence. Baxter was already a well-known proponent of the theory that spiritual bodies were not aerial, but akin to fire. It is likely that in part, this exercise was a display of trust, reciprocation for Baxter allowing Glanvill, and Glanvill alone, to read a treatise not otherwise circulated or published, that he wrote in response to the scathing attack on him in *The Bishop of Worcester's Letter to a Friend* (1662).¹⁰² Despite the fundamental differences in their opinions, their exchange remained amicable. Glanvill continued to supportively cite and positively describe Baxter throughout his life, even explicitly defending him while condemning other nonconformist preachers in *The Zealous, and Impartial Protestant* (1681), published posthumously but written during the Popish Plot of 1678.¹⁰³

One might not think much of the 1662 letters in isolation, but the episode becomes more tantalizing in light of several striking decisions More implemented in his posthumous editions of the *Saducismus*. From the first edition in 1681, right in between Glanvill's core portion of the work, the Letter of Witchcraft, and the Collection of Relations, More inserted an eighty-two-page translation of a section of his *Enchiridion metaphysicum*, titled *The easie, true, and genuine Notion, and consistent Explication of the Nature of a Spirit*.¹⁰⁴ He then promptly wrote a private letter to Richard Baxter to ask his opinion of these ideas, only to publish Baxter's letter, and a rebuttal thereof, in his second edition of 1682.¹⁰⁵ This was done without Baxter's knowledge and More only offered the small consolation of titling the section 'An Answer to a Letter of a Learned Psychopyrist concerning the True Notion of a Spirit' rather than naming Baxter as the author. This resulted in a series of exchanges between More and Baxter, some published, some private, in which the apparent intellectual regard they expressed for each other during Glanvill's lifetime degenerated into a debate which was a far cry from the friendly banter implied by the title of Baxter's hastily composed response *Of the Nature of Spirits; Especially Mans Soul. In a placid Collation with the Learned Dr. Henry More, In a Reply to his Answer to a private Letter, Printed in his second Edition of Mr. Glanvilles Sadduceismus triumphatus*.¹⁰⁶

There is much more that could be said on this exchange, and on the relationship between Baxter's views and Glanvill's notions of spirit. What is enlightening in the context of this discussion is that Glanvill's theory of spirit seemed almost designed to agree with More on pre-existence in a way which could still potentially accommodate Baxter's fiery spirits. However, this flexibility comes at the expense of More's central principle, the concept of the immaterial substance. More's interpolation of his theory of the nature of spirits into the *Saducismus*, and his provocation of Baxter, suggests that there was more tension between Glanvill and More over such matters than

is readily apparent from their earlier works and exchanges. Furthermore, it seems that this tension was in some way tied to a level of resentment over the largely unacknowledged and as yet unexplored degree of influence which Baxter would seem to have had over Glanvill's metaphysics. By including the portion of his own *Enchiridion metaphysicum* in the *Saducismus*, More went a long way to overshadowing Glanvill's questioning of the concept of the immaterial substance of spirits/souls and successfully associating his ideas and conclusions with Glanvill's revised methodology. Indeed his continuing appropriation of Boyle's experiments suggested that such a tactic was not entirely out of character for More. I believe these observations raise two questions: "Did More intentionally intensify the conflation of Glanvill's work with his own through these interpolations in the *Saducismus*?" and "Would this philosophical conflation have occurred if Glanvill, like Boyle and Baxter, had been able to respond to More's edition of the *Saducismus*?"

Acknowledgments

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Notes

1. LO62_WingG814; LO82_WingG833.
2. LO82_WingG833_sig.B6v-B7r.
3. BMS68_WingG800_sig.A3v-A4v, 48.
4. LO82_WingG833_sig.C2v. Rust, a student of More, authored a second influential, yet anonymous, publication arguing for pre-existence entitled *A Letter of Resolution concerning Origen and the Chief of His Opinions* in 1661. Rust's anonymity was short lived. Coudert, *Impact of Kabbalah*, 193ff. He was also Glanvill's friend and correspondent on several matters, including Valentine Greatrakes. BMS68_WingG800_106.
5. Richard H. Popkin, "The Spiritualistic Cosmologies of Henry More and Anne Conway," in *Henry More (1614–1687): Tercentenary Studies*, ed. Sarah Hutton (Dordrecht; Boston; London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1990), 101–102. Popkin writes: "The many mind-boggling sections of More's writings, plus his collaborative works with Glanvill, such as *Lux orientalis* and *Saducismus triumphatus*, are attempts to set forth the empirical evidence that spirits exist and are active in the world's affairs'. This characterisation continues in footnote 22: 'Most of More's philosophical works contain long sections about the activities of spirits. In *Lux*, More and Glanvill put together most of their data on this subject. See also Glanvill, *Saducismus*.' This phrasing does not reflect the fact that, with the exception of More's contribution of a number of relations and a healthy intellectual mentorship, More did not contribute substantially to the work until after Glanvill's death when he finished editing the *Saducismus* and

- republished the *Lux* along with Rust's *Discourse of Truth* and 271 pages of annotations thereon. For further examples of the subjugation of Glanvill's metaphysics to More's see: Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Catherine Wilson, *Epicureanism at the Origins of Modernity* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 2008); Kurt Pritzl, ed., *Truth: Studies of a Robust Presence* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2010); Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956, 92; John Tulloch, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1974), 2:443, 445; Philip Almond, "The Journey of the Soul in Seventeenth-Century English Platonism," *History of European Ideas* 13(1991): 779; G. P. H. Pawson, *The Cambridge Platonists and Their Place in Religious Thought* (New York: Burt Franklin Reprints, [1930] 1974), 84.
6. A. Rupert Hall, *Henry More and the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge; New York; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 175.
 7. John Henry, "Henry More versus Robert Boyle: The Spirit of Nature and the Nature of Providence," in *Henry More (1614–1687): Tercentenary Studies*, ed. Sarah Hutton (Dordrecht; Boston; London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1990), 57; Hall, *More and the Scientific*, 125, 143.
 8. Glanvill died in November, 1680. James Collins, "Publisher to the Reader" in LO82_WingG833_sig.A4r.
 9. LO82_WingG833_sig.C1r-C2r-v.
 10. LO82_WingG833_93. Glanvill also expressly notes that: 'Scripture-evidence is not so proper for this place, I intending to make it [pre-existence] an Argument by it self.' LO82_WingG833_44. This point is then expanded in Chapter 11, entitled "Great caution to be used in alleging Scripture for our speculative opinions." LO82_WingG833_82.
 11. See Chapter 7. Cf. Davies, "Preaching Science."
 12. LO82_WingG833_sig.B4v, B8v-C2r, 19; Henry More, *Immortality of the Soul* (London, 1659), sig.B1v, 4, passim.
 13. *Antidote against Atheisme* was first published in 1652 and then enlarged in 1655. Arlene Miller Guinsburg, "Henry More, Thomas Vaughan and the Late Renaissance Magical Tradition," *Ambix* 27 (1980): 45. Examples of the use of these terms in use can be found here: More, *Immortality*, 1659, sig.a7r, 12, 49, 53, 257, 270; More, *Antidote against Atheisme*, 1653, 43, 103, 133.
 14. LO82_WingG833_19, 38.
 15. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (London, 1651), 3–8, 23.
 16. LO82_WingG833_16–19.
 17. LO82_WingG833_113ff, 120ff, 122ff.
 18. LO82_WingG833_18–19, 103; More, *Immortality*, 1659, sig.A7v-A8v.
 19. More, "Annotations upon *Lux orientalis*," in LO82_WingG833_127–128(2).
 20. LO82_WingG833_36, 70, 75, 113–137, esp.125.
 21. LO82_WingG833_118–119, 125, 145.
 22. LO82_WingG833_19–27.
 23. LO82_WingG833_5–6 and 35.
 24. LO82_WingG833_sig.C1r, cf. 5–6, 49.
 25. LO82_WingG833_sig.C1r, 32–34, 125.
 26. LO82_WingG833_sig.C1r-C1v, 31, 37–38.
 27. This is confirmed in a letter Glanvill wrote in 1661/2, possibly to George Rust, where he acknowledges that he is open to the idea of unembodied spirits, yet asserts that even spirits can only manipulate the vehicles appropriate to their state. For Glanvill, to assume a body less refined than is appropriate to the state of the spirit is 'not voluntary, but fatall.' Glanvill-[Unknown]_20/1/1662_fol.1v.
 28. LO82_WingG833_100–101.
 29. LO82_WingG833_100–101.

30. LO82_WingG833_101.
31. Henry, "More versus Boyle," 57. According to Henry, this concept developed during the 1640s and 1650s and was first articulated in its 'mature' form in the 1659 edition of More's *Immortality of the Soul*. For the quote from More see: Henry More, "An Antidote against Atheism," in *A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings of Dr. Henry More, Fellow of Christ's-College in Cambridge*, ed. Henry More (London, 1712), 46.
32. For additional discussion of this dispute see: Chapter 4. Cf. Davies, "Poisonous Vapours," 175–179; Jane E. Jenkins, "Arguing about Nothing: Henry More and Robert Boyle on the Theological Implications of the Void," in *Rethinking the Scientific Revolution*, ed. Margaret J. Osler (Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 160–171; Robert Greene, "Henry More and Robert Boyle on the Spirit of Nature," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 23.4 (1962): 451–474. Cf. Conway-More_4/2/1675_420; More-Conway_11/5/1672_357; Robert Boyle, "An Hydrostatical Discourse Occasion'd by Some Objections of Dr. H. More in His *Enchiridion metaphysicum*," in *Tracts Containing New Experiments Touching the Relation betwixt Flame and Air, and about Explosives* (London, 1672).
33. These particular spirits, the invisible Ministers of Equity and Justice, are assigned the task of ensuring that the souls of sinful people are taken to the bowels of the Earth, where Hell was supposedly located, upon death. LO82_WingG833_132.
34. LO82_WingG833_101, 104, 114–115.
35. Prior, "Glanvill."
36. Reginald Scot, John Webster and Balthasar Bekker all admitted the existence of spirits but challenged their ability to and interest in interacting with the physical realm. Scot, *Discoverie*, 24, 26; Webster, *Displaying*, 147–148, 152; Bekker, *Betoverde weereld*, Volume 2: Pages 39–40.
37. BMS68_WingG800_18; LO82_WingG833_107, 115, 135; Robert Crocker, *Henry More, 1614–1687* (Dordrecht; Boston; London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003), 136.
38. LO82_WingG833_44, 83.
39. For a neat and related summary of the centrality of the mind-body problem for the mechanical and experimental philosophies, see: Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 297–299.
40. BMS68_WingG800_14. Cf. LO82_WingG833_17–20, 102–104; Essays76_WingG809_I:4–5.
41. For an overview of the "mind-body problem": Karl Popper, "Notes of a Realist on the Body-Mind Problem," in *All Life Is Problem Solving* (London; New York: Routledge, 1999), esp. 24–25. On Kant's epistemic dualism: Gunther S. Stent, *Paradoxes of Free Will* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2002), 14, 155ff. On Leibniz's notion of pre-established harmony: Nicholas Jolley, *Leibniz* (London; New York: Routledge, 2005), 99–103.
42. For example see: René Descartes, "Meditations on First Philosophy," in *Meditations on First Philosophy: With Selections from the Objections and Replies*, ed. John Cottingham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 59. Descartes later revisits this issue and suggests that the soul communicates with the body through the pineal gland, but still does not go further to posit an explanation of how this communication between the soul and the pituitary gland occurs. See the letter to Lazare Meyssonier of 29 January 1640, cited in A. C. Grayling, *Descartes: The Life and Times of a Genius* (London: Pocket Books, 2006), 277 n.11. For Grayling's contextualization of the issue see pages 163–165.
43. LO82_WingG833_sig.C3r. Cf. BMS68_WingG800_14.
44. BMS68_WingG800_47.
45. Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 298–299.

46. BMS68_WingG800_47–48.
47. BMS68_WingG800_46–47.
48. BMS68_WingG800_15–17, 19–20. Cf. Davies, “Poisonous Vapours.”
49. LO82_WingG833_9, 37, 49, 64, 145. Cf. More, “Annotations upon *Lux orientalis*” in LO82_WingG833_5–6(2). It is worth noting that Glanvill does consider the idea that humans technically have four constituent parts, the soul, an immediate aerial vehicle, a gross body and a residual portion of their aetherial body. This residual part of the highest most pure body is almost entirely superseded by the aerial body in all functions, except that it facilitates the resurrection of the just at the end of days. LO82_WingG833_118, 140.
50. BMS68_WingG800_48. Cf. LO82_WingG833_102.
51. C. A. Patrides, ed., *The Cambridge Platonists* (London: Edward Arnold, 1969), 35; Victor Nuovo, “Reflections on Locke’s Platonism,” in *Platonism at the Origins of Modernity*, ed. Douglas Hedley and Sarah Hutton (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007), 216ff; Michael J. B. Allen, “At Variance: Marsilio Ficino, Platonism and Heresy,” in *Platonism at the Origins of Modernity*, 40.
52. BMS68_WingG800_22, 24.
53. BMS68_WingG800_48.
54. BMS68_WingG800_8–9.
55. BMS68_WingG800_24.
56. BMS68_WingG800_9. Cf. Chapter 4; Davies, “Poisonous Vapours,” 169–175.
57. LO82_WingG833_114–115, 122, 147.
58. Glanvill claims that Genii were traditionally thought to be ‘recreated [on release from the bottle] by reeks and vapours of human blood & the spirits [animating forces] that proceed from them’. BMS68_WingG800_18. LO82_WingG833_53.
59. BMS68_WingG800_48.
60. LO82_WingG833_sig.C1r-v.
61. LO82_WingG833_126–133.
62. BMS68_WingG800_23.
63. As Henry More’s inconsistency on these particular matters is well attested, for the purposes of comparing his ideas with Glanvill’s at the time the *Lux* was written, I limit my assessment of his ideas to the two works most referred to by Glanvill in the *Lux*, More’s *Conjectura cabbalistica* (1653) and the *Immortality of the Soul* (1659). However, despite the early publication of Glanvill’s Letter in 1666, it seems the most significant point of comparison is the translation of a portion of his *Enchiridion metaphysicum* (1671), which More includes in his editions of the *Saducismus*.
64. LO82_WingG833_sig.B6v, sig.B7v-B8v, for examples of More’s terminology see: 16, 35, 37, 103.
65. LO82_WingG833_sig.B7r-B8v.
66. Glanvill’s authorship of the *Lux* became well known quickly. Glanvill admitted his authorship to Richard Baxter when he sent him a draft copy of the *Lux* with a request for his feedback. Glanvill-Baxter_4/8/1662_i.174. Glanvill also sent Boyle a copy of the printed book with a letter of self-introduction shortly after its publication. Glanvill-Boyle_[1662]_2:54–55. Similarly, Henry More is thought to have been aware of Glanvill’s authorship when he sent a copy to Lady Anne Conway in March 1663. More-Conway_31/3/[1663]_215–216. Finally, the *Lux* is included in a list entitled ‘Books published by Mr. Glanvil’ at the end of the *Two Discourses* (1677). This compilation is a posthumous tribute to George Rust and contains: Rust’s *Discourse of Truth*, an account of the book and the author ‘Written by Jos. Glanvil, Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty’ and Glanvill’s work *The Way of Happiness and Salvation* (first published in 1670). TD77_WingR2368.
67. PE66_WingG817A_8; BMS68_WingG800_8; ST81_WingG822_7(2). On Hobbes’s rejection of immaterial substances see: Douglas Michael Jessephe,

Squaring the Circle: The War between Hobbes and Wallis (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 52ff; Peter Anstey, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of British Philosophy in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 334. For a summary of Hobbes's discussions of spirits and witchcraft across his works see: Bostridge, *Witchcraft and Transformations*, 38–52, esp. 41–42.

68. SS65_WingG827_sig.b1v.
69. More, *Immortality*, 1659, esp. sig.A4v-A6r, 11–17, 53–56, 263.
70. John Henry, "A Cambridge Platonist's Materialism: Henry More and the Concept of Soul," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986): 177.
71. Henry More, *Enchiridion metaphysicum* (London, 1671), 74. For a more detailed analysis of the problematic implications of this position, see: Henry, "Cambridge Platonist's Materialism," 178.
72. More, *Immortality*, 1659, 1, passim.
73. Henry, "Cambridge Platonist's Materialism," esp. 173, 180, 194; Walker, "Medical Spirits," 223–244.
74. More, "Annotations upon *Lux orientalis*" in LO82_WingG833_37(2). More expressly refers to spirits, which are like to souls, as 'Beings of the Intellectual Order' and explores the soul's role in intellectual functions such as memory in great depth. More, *Immortality*, 1659, sig.b4v-b5r, 94, 123ff, 161ff, 323.
75. Henry, "Cambridge Platonist's Materialism," 180; More, *Immortality*, 1659, 329–330.
76. Henry, "Cambridge Platonist's Materialism," 180; Walker, "Medical Spirits," 236. Cf. More, *Immortality*, 1659, 42.
77. More, *Immortality*, 1659, 263, 486–487.
78. More, "Annotations upon *Lux orientalis*" in LO82_WingG833_127(2).
79. LO82_WingG833_132 compared with More, *Immortality*, 1659, 129, 160–161. Cf. Almond, "Journey of the Soul," 784; Walker, "Medical Spirits," 239–240. Glanvill's exception to this case occurs when through the interventions of wicked spirits, a witch's body is specially prepared in order to enable the attendance of her spirit at the Sabbath. BMS68_WingG800_20.
80. More, *Immortality*, 1659, 323.
81. LO82_WingG833_sig.C2v.
82. BMS68_WingG800_21.
83. LO82_WingG833_sig.C2v. Indeed Glanvill discusses several of his reservations about More's work openly in private correspondence: Glanvill-[Unknown]_20/1/1662_fol.1r-2v.
84. Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 301–302.
85. More, *Immortality*, 1659, 278–285.
86. More-Conway_31/3/[1663]_215–216.
87. More, *Immortality*, 1659, 292–293. Cf. Henry More, *An Antidote against Atheisme* (Cambridge, 1655), 215–227.
88. Webster, *Displaying*, 292.
89. More, *Immortality*, 1659, 286–296.
90. See Chapter 8.
91. More, *Immortality*, 1659, 286–288, 293–294.
92. Boyle-Glanvill_18/9/1677_4:456. Cf. Chapter 4; Davies, "Poisonous Vapours."
93. Hall, *More and the Scientific*, 72.
94. This is especially true if Hall is correct and More's rejection of experimental and mechanical ideals was influential in Newton's development of the concept of gravity. Hall, *More and the Scientific*, Chapter 11.
95. BMS68_WingG800_113ff.
96. More-Conway_31/3/[1663]_215–216. Cf. Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 307.

97. Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 297, 303; Hall, *More and the Scientific*, 6–7, 174.
98. More, *Immortality*, 1659, 295.
99. BMS68_WingG800_9.
100. Hall, *More and the Scientific*, 125, 143, 202–241.
101. Glanvill asked Baxter to send his comments on the *Lux* again as Baxter's original letter containing his 'Harsh Censures' had gone astray. Glanvill-Baxter_[1662]_1:fol.170r-171v.
102. Glanvill-Baxter_2/[1662]_1:fol.172. Cf. George Morley, *The Bishop of Worcester's Letter to a Friend* (London, 1662).
103. ZIP81_WingG837_13, 19.
104. ST81_WingG822_99(2); ST82_WingG823_99(2); ST88_WingG824_133.
105. ST82_WingG823_sig.Q2r(3); ST88_WingG824_189.
106. Richard Baxter, *Of the Nature of Spirits: Especially Mans Soul* (London, 1682).

4 Poisonous Vapours and the Science of Witchcraft

After a survey of the most significant features of Glanvill's metaphysical system, I now return to Glanvill's fundamental beliefs about witchcraft as articulated in his Letter of Witchcraft, first published under the title *A Philosophical Endeavour towards the Defence of the Being of Witches and Apparitions, in a Letter to Robert Hunt, Esquire* (1666). Michael Hunter's meticulous analysis of the Tedworth case has rekindled interest in Glanvill's works on witchcraft and contributed much to understanding his handling of testimonial evidence.¹ However, the Letter, which was central to all the versions of the work, remains largely understudied in comparison to the Tedworth account and the Collection of Relations. This close analysis of the Letter, and the epistemological method contained therein, illuminates a comprehensive theory of witchcraft that neatly combines Glanvill's understanding of the experimental methodology of the Royal Society of London and his metaphysics.

The so called Glanvill-Webster Debate concerning the existence of witchcraft, which took place between 1666 and 1681, has played a key role in prompting the revision of progressivist attitudes within the History of Science.² Scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries viewed this exchange as a key stage in the development of the modern scientific outlook, which was exemplified for them by the rejection of the superstitious belief in witchcraft. In this narrative, Glanvill represented the dogmatic and credulous believer in the existence of diabolic witchcraft, while John Webster was held up as 'the champion of a sceptical rationalism'.³

In 1929, Kittredge challenged this assessment. He acknowledged Webster's belief that many witchcraft cases were the product of delusion or trickery, while others could be explained as manipulations of lesser known properties of natural objects, such as poisons. However, he also argued that Webster's denial of the Devil's pact and the keeping of familiar demons was far from a denial of superstitious beliefs *en masse*. Kittredge showed that Webster's denial about the diabolic nature of witchcraft was based on his belief in occult qualities to the efficacy of talismans and sympathetic remedies such as weapon salves.⁴

Moody Prior built on Kittredge's work by applying similar principles to Glanvill in more depth. He argued that in the expanded *Blow at Modern*

Sadducism (1668) and later editions, Glanvill structured the book on the premise that (1) there were widespread accounts of magic/witchcraft which were consistent, despite having risen independently in isolated populations; and (2) in the face of these consistent accounts, it was irrational and dogmatic to label all accounts of magical activity, that is, activity which did not currently have a logical explanation, as mere trickery.⁵

Prior then argued that the logic underpinning this argument, and the investigative methods that Glanvill devised in response, were based solidly on the analytical and empirical method being developed by the Royal Society.⁶ This ‘moderately sceptical’ epistemology advocated by the Royal Society had at its core the notion that to presume any one individual could know or understand everything was both dogmatic and arrogant. Therefore, they placed an emphasis on a collaborative approach to the expansion of knowledge.⁷ Replicating experiments was the most important way the Society believed they could verify knowledge, but in the face of limited scientific capability, the consistent testimony of individuals or groups was considered an alternative means through which experience and knowledge could be confirmed.⁸ Thus, Prior argues, Glanvill designed his *Collection of Relations* in the tradition of the ‘histories of nature’ used by Francis Bacon in his *Sylva sylvarum* (1627) and advocated by Robert Boyle.⁹ The relationship between Glanvill’s epistemological method and his theology, metaphysics and natural philosophy is further enhanced by a broad reading of Glanvill’s works and how they were received by his contemporaries.

By closely analysing the Letter and further contextualizing Glanvill’s work within both traditional and emerging scientific discourses, this chapter supports Prior’s evaluation. It demonstrates how Glanvill combined existing demonological, metaphysical and medical theories with emerging psychological approaches, notions of contagion and the latest experimental investigations in a unique and innovative way to produce his poisonous vapours hypothesis (PVH). Although it remains apparent that Glanvill’s hypothesis does not qualify as “scientific” by twentieth-century standards, this analysis suggests how Glanvill’s work on witchcraft, his attempt to instigate an empirical and experimental study of immanent metaphysical phenomena, was able to gain and sustain widespread popularity and the ongoing support of leading seventeenth-century experimental philosophers, such as Robert Boyle. Moreover, this analysis offers a deeper understanding of how Glanvill, the esteemed Anglican minister and Chaplain in Waiting to King Charles II, could be a leading proponent of the reality of diabolic witchcraft *and* a foremost propagandist for the Royal Society’s experimental method.

The consistency of the Letter across the numerous editions of Glanvill’s work on witchcraft suggests that Glanvill remained satisfied with its form and content.¹⁰ Furthermore, as the Letter remained free of More’s editorial hand, one can argue that it not only constitutes the core portion of the *Saducismus*, but the portion which most reliably reflects Glanvill’s own beliefs and opinions.¹¹ The philosophical method and concepts presented in the Letter are also central to understanding Glanvill’s intentions

for the Collection of Relations. By philosophically rejecting the assertion that witchcraft was impossible, Glanvill's Letter established a philosophical framework within which the subsequent relations would be most convincing.¹² Glanvill did not merely argue against the claim that demonic witchcraft was inconceivable and therefore impossible; he also examined many of the suggested explanations for various witchcraft phenomena. In this process, Glanvill combined the epistemological method of the Royal Society of London, as outlined in his *Vanity of Dogmatizing* (1661), with the Platonic metaphysical system he presented in the *Lux orientalis* (1662). His revised, rigorous approach to metaphysics, 'kept . . . to the conduct of those Principles . . . judged most rational', enabled Glanvill to produce what he believed had the potential to become an experimentally verifiable theory of witchcraft.¹³ Thus despite the modesty of its claimed intention, to demonstrate the likely possibility of witchcraft, the Letter represented a move toward developing a naturalized understanding of the mechanisms by which witchcraft operated, demonstrating the great value of natural and experimental philosophy for information about the immanent metaphysical realm.¹⁴

Glanvill's eclectic philosophical method and cautious protestations that his theories were but possibilities, or hypotheses,¹⁵ rather than actual truths, does make it difficult to discern any systematic account of witchcraft that could be construed as an attempt to develop a comprehensive scientific theory. Some historians have viewed this cautious presentation as a self-contradictory logical weakness,¹⁶ and have even challenged Glanvill's right to call himself a philosopher.¹⁷ However, such a judgement does not account for the potential that Glanvill, and many of his contemporaries such as Henry More and Robert Boyle, saw in this work.¹⁸ Rhetorically, this eclectic collection of theories would also have offered explanations which appealed to people from many different philosophical backgrounds. Thus by repeatedly insisting that *all* his hypotheses were 'plausible', Glanvill presented his assessment of the arguments against the reality of witchcraft in a way that appealed to the broadest possible audience. By employing a wide range of examples, Glanvill also demonstrated that the dogmatic elements of his opponents' nescient argument, that witchcraft was unreal because they could not conceive how it might occur, was untenable according to a wide range of philosophical approaches.¹⁹ Glanvill's aversion to statements of absolute certainty is also in keeping with the mitigated scepticism that was central to Glanvill's understanding of the Royal Society's epistemology and "good science" of the time.²⁰

The Poisonous Vapours Hypothesis (PVH)

Within this framework of modest argumentation, Glanvill did, nevertheless, express a clear preference for some of his possible theories while quickly dismissing others.²¹ The implications of these preferences should not be

overlooked by making the scientific or philosophical agenda of the Letter entirely subservient to any theological motivations for proving the existence of the spiritual realm.²² As is discussed extensively in Chapter 7, Glanvill believes that the knowledge of the natural world and rational training provided by the experimental philosophy of the Royal Society in particular provides the best foundation for the study of any theological or moral material and protects against the effects of melancholy and enthusiasm.²³ Therefore, to diminish Glanvill's philosophical agenda in this work is to disregard a valuable opportunity to understand how early modern people reconciled their changing relationship with the natural world with a need to maintain faith in the divine.

Glanvill's systematic explanation for witchcraft becomes readily apparent if we focus on those hypotheses which Glanvill indicates are 'most likely', such as the PVH. Furthermore, it appears that these preferred explanations were intended as a basis for further empirical investigation. Glanvill evidently aspired to, or rather *sought to inspire*, a science of witchcraft. This interpretation is supported by the letter from Glanvill to William Brereton, then president of the Society, which prefaced the Tedworth report published in the 1668 edition, *Blow at Modern Sadducism*. In this letter Glanvill suggested that the Society would make great advances toward a new, rational, empirical metaphysics if it turned even a small portion of its resources to a study of the spiritual realm, which he characterized as another 'kinde of America'.²⁴ It has been suggestively noted, in light of the lack of an official response by the Society,²⁵ that this letter did not appear in subsequent revisions.²⁶ However, in the absence of the presentation of successful experiments, any implications arising from the failure to renew the call for assistance in the 1681 edition are mitigated by the fact that Brereton died in March 1680, just eight months before Glanvill, and the year before More's edition of the *Saducismus*. Not only was the letter to Brereton then redundant, but the decision not to renew the call was More's, not Glanvill's, as far as can be surmised. More importantly, the inclusion of the Collection of Relations in the revised editions has repeatedly been characterized as a preliminary scientific study of witchcraft according to the requirements of the Royal Society's use of testimony.²⁷ For many readers, Glanvill's work did the job of proving the existence of spirits and witchcraft. With this in mind, the call to the Royal Society becomes not a call to find proof of a theological doctrine, but a call for help to increase the knowledge of the mechanisms and laws of an aspect of the natural world. Glanvill's collection of testimonials and potential hypotheses established witchcraft and spiritual apparitions as an area worthy of further investigation.

The notion that I have dubbed Glanvill's poisonous vapours hypothesis (PVH) provides an example of one of these probable, rather than plausible explanations that had clear experimental potential. Glanvill put forward this hypothesis more enthusiastically than several others. He also referred back to this hypothesis repeatedly throughout the first half of the Letter,

incorporating it into explanations for a series of additional phenomena. For example, he relies on the PVH when he writes:

the influences of a spirit possess'd of an active and enormous imagination, may be malign and fatal where they cannot be resisted; especially when they are accompanied by those poisonous reaks that the evil spirit breathes into the Sorceress . . .²⁸

Furthermore, in several of the sermons published posthumously by Anthony Horneck, Glanvill presented versions of the PVH as a reality!²⁹

The PVH first appeared as the last of three suggestions that Glanvill offered to explain the particularly English phenomenon in which familiar spirits were thought to feed by sucking the blood of their witches.³⁰ Although familiars by no means featured in every witchcraft case in England, they were a distinctive element in English trial evidence from this period.³¹ Glanvill's PVH builds upon this established English tradition which is famously illustrated in the pamphlet about the Chelmsford witches executed in 1589. Joan Prentice, one of the three witches found guilty, confessed to allowing her familiar ferret, Bid, to drink blood from her left cheek, and this act features prominently in the frontispiece image.³² Unlike Glanvill's PVH, however, such accounts emphasized the physical nutrition that familiars received from this exchange, with some familiars even being fed with a spoon.³³ In comparison, Hans Baldung Grien's drawing *Witch and Dragon*³⁴ provides a rare and very graphic representation of a vapourous exchange accompanying a sexual act that is in some ways similar to that proposed by the PVH.

While the keeping of familiars is usually traced back to medieval origins, the earliest known evidence that familiar spirits, usually in animal form, demanded they be allowed to suck blood from the witch periodically or in exchange for performing tasks, has been traced to evidence given against one John Steward in a case in Yorkshire in 1510. This practice is usually characterized as a symbolic ritual performing a similar function as the demonic pact—a physical document signed by the witch in his/her blood—which was common on the Continent.³⁵ Although such Faustian style written pacts were rare in England, the sucking of blood was thought to be a way the Devil would confirm verbal agreements with 'such as cannot write . . . for hee will haue his Couenant sealed with bloud one way or other'. By the seventeenth century, English witch-hunters believed it provided an undeniable proof of witchcraft and routinely searched suspects for the tell-tale Devil's mark: a numb spot on the witch's body, located on the point sucked by the familiar. Indeed, it was thought that repeated suckings sometimes resulted in the formation of an actual teat.³⁶ In addition to suggesting this act might be the result of a spirit's need for nourishment, or a purely symbolic ritual or 'diabolic Sacrament', Glanvill thought it was 'most probable' that:

the Familiar doth not onely suck the Witch, but in the action infuseth some poisonous ferment into her.

He then elaborated further, suggesting it was a process akin to being bitten and infected by a Mad Dog:

the evil spirit [the familiar] having breath'd some vile vapour into the body of the Witch . . . may taint her bloud and spirits with a noxious quality, by which her infected imagination, heightened by melancholy and this worse cause, may do much hurt . . .³⁷

This poisonous ferment resolved many issues within Glanvill's work. Not only did the PVH account, in a seemingly unique way, for a particularly challenging aspect of witchcraft lore, it provided Glanvill with a mechanism that systematically explained the operation of several features of the English witchcraft tradition.

Traditional Witchcraft Beliefs and the PVH

Glanvill's PVH played a critical role in the explanations of four additional key witchcraft phenomena throughout the Letter. First, through their influence on the melancholic humour, the noxious vapours rendered a witch more receptive to any fancies, deceptions and influences the demon sought to instil in her mind. Thus the vapours enabled the spirit to deceive and control the witch more easily. For example, the spirit could then convince the witch (or the unwitting Sadducee) that it was her actions, her rituals that caused particular phenomena, rather than the spirit itself.³⁸

Second, Glanvill suggested that the vapours enabled witches' attendance at Sabbaths. Testimony that people who claimed to have attended Sabbaths had actually stayed in their beds all night was common. In response to this evidence, and an emerging awareness of psychological illness, the argument was made that Sabbaths were all a figment of the witch's imagination. The natural response of the prosecutor was to argue that the witch did not attend the Sabbath physically, but that her soul separated from her body and the witch attended the Sabbath, literally, in spirit.³⁹ Glanvill suggested that these poisonous vapours not only enabled the separation of the witch's soul from her body, so that she could be flown to Sabbaths or transformed into any number of animal forms, but that 'tis very likely that this ferment' was what 'ke[pt] the body in fit temper' for the return of the soul after these escapades.⁴⁰

Third, Glanvill allocated his noxious vapours a role in his explanation of the evil eye. This phenomenon was long thought to involve invisible rays from the eye and the PVH offered a concrete source for these emissions. Glanvill suggested that the evil eye was the result of 'those poisonous reaks, that the evil spirit breathes into the Sorceress' being 'shot out' again and working on the fancy and melancholy of the victim of her *maleficium*.⁴¹

Finally, since Glanvill supposed these poisonous vapours worked through the melancholic humours already present in the witch, the PVH also explained why certain groups in society were prone to becoming witches.

Women, the elderly and unmarried adults were all thought to have more melancholic humour in their bodies than a typical healthy male, as were any people known to be particularly moody.⁴² According to Glanvill, higher levels of melancholy made such people more susceptible to the influence of spirits and amplified the effect of the poisonous vapours. As a result, these melancholic people were *less* likely to be able to resist the Devil's temptations and therefore *more* likely to become witches. However, excessive melancholy alone did not produce witchcraft delusions. Witchcraft delusions were the result of the poisonous vapours. The poisonous vapours just happened to be more readily effective in melancholic people because they operated through the melancholic humour.

Glanvill's approach to these explanations demonstrated a particularly sensitive awareness of the social issues surrounding the characteristic stereotype of the witch. Furthermore, the comprehensive nature of this explanation, which incorporated many major elements of the English witchcraft tradition, again demonstrated Glanvill's rigorous methodology. The PVH was a manifestation of Glanvill's ultimate desire for a systematic, rational understanding of the interaction between the "super"-natural and natural realms that was compatible with the new evidential standards of experimental philosophy.⁴³

The PVH was equally remarkable given that it enabled Glanvill to produce these new accounts of witchcraft phenomena without introducing any radically new elements. Instead, Glanvill combined several traditional beliefs about melancholy and spirits with the newest philosophical approaches, ensuring that the PVH fitted within the contemporary "scientific" discourse as well as the demonological and theological. Addressing traditional notions of witchcraft in this way enabled an effective response to contemporary deniers which used their own arguments against them.

The PVH, Spirits and Melancholy

Glanvill draws upon four main traditional concepts which demonstrated the viability of the notion that a spirit could influence a witch's thoughts and disposition through a vaporous medium. The first key notion, that vaporous substances could influence the imagination and produce delusions, was well attested in various fields. In the *Leviathan* (1651) Hobbes attributed the altered state of the Delphic Oracle to 'the intoxicating vapour of the place, which is very frequent in sulphurous Caverns'.⁴⁴ Similarly, according to Owen Davies, medical explanations for nightmares, that is, sleep paralysis accompanied by hallucinations and/or a feeling of pressure on the chest and restriction of the breath, were based on Galen's view that nightmares were the result of gastric disturbances.⁴⁵ However, in popular thinking nightmares were explained as the attacks of incubi. Galen's view challenged this traditional explanation and was adopted by many authors writing on witchcraft. In Reginald Scot's words, 'The mare' was the result of 'a thicke

vapor proceeding from . . . the stomach: which ascending up into the head oppreseth the braine', producing nightmares and thus leading to the belief in incubi.⁴⁶ Thus for Scot, the Galenic understanding of nightmares was an indication that incubi did not actually exist. In his *Daemonologie* James I also subscribed to this view despite his belief in witchcraft. He also referred to the 'mare' as a disease resulting from 'thick phlegm falling onto our breast . . . interclud[ing] our vital spirits'.⁴⁷ Yet the Galenic explanation of the nightmare was not considered proof that nightmares were *never* caused by spirits. This is illustrated by the response to a question about the cause of nightmares in the coffee-house journal, the *Athenian Mercury*, in the 1690s. The response nominates melancholic vapours as the cause of most nightmares, but asserts that in some cases, usually when there are repeated episodes occurring at the same time as other misfortunes, nightmares are indeed caused by witchcraft.⁴⁸

These examples also attest to the second key belief: that the substance of the melancholic humour produced vaporous emissions. The vaporous emissions of melancholy were most famously associated with witchcraft phenomena by Johann Weyer, though he employed them to discredit those particular assertions. With regard to his belief that many accounts of witchcraft were merely delusions, Weyer wrote in *De praestigiis daemonum* (1563):

All the senses are corrupted in various ways by this one humor or by the sooty *vapour* of black bile [that is melancholy], which infects the abode of the mind, and from which proceed (as we know) all these phantastical monstrosities . . . Strange apparitions may thus be conceived in the imagination and generally shared with the visual spirits and humors through the medium of the optic nerve.⁴⁹

The notion that a 'melancholic vapour' of this kind produced 'absurd thoughts and imaginations' was also a dominant theme in Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621).⁵⁰ Similarly, Scot emphasizes the susceptibility of women to such 'vapors' or 'Aerie inflammation' which exacerbate their inherent struggles with 'evil humours' and 'venomous exhalations'.⁵¹ However, it may be Cornelius Agrippa who inspired Glanvill's discussion on this point most directly. Agrippa also discusses the melancholic vapours produced by the imagination and the passions of the mind, and like Glanvill, also uses bites from mad dogs, followed by the mechanisms of the evil eye, as examples of this phenomena in quick succession.⁵²

Third, the link between the melancholic humour and spirits was equally strong. Melancholy had long been thought a medium through which spirits, particularly evil spirits or the Devil, could influence humankind. For example, in a chapter entitled 'A Digression of the nature of Spirits, bad Angels, or Devils, and how they cause Melancholy', Burton undertakes an examination of several theories different scholars have used to explain how the 'Devil can alter the minde, and produce this disease of himself'.⁵³ Some of the

scholars he places in this tradition include the highly influential Tertullian, Michael Psellus, Avicenna and Martin Del Rio. Burton also recalls the epithetical phrase popularized by Weyer with the observation that: ‘St Jerome has therefore most appropriately termed melancholia “the Devil’s bath”’.⁵⁴

Finally, Glanvill’s notion that spirits “probably” interact with natural melancholic emissions within the body of the witch by introducing a vaporous, venom-like substance, seems especially reasonable given the traditional characterization of spirits themselves as vaporous. In *Melampronoea* (1681) Henry Hallywell demonstrated that there was a similarly long history of spirits being thought of as “vaporous” in both Christian and Greek traditions. The influence of both Boyle and Glanvill can be seen in Hallywell’s suggestion that spirits:

cannot act [sensibly] in any other Vehicle but what is drawn from the clammy and caliginous parts of the Air; which Bodies . . . have their . . . Effluvia, and exhale and wear away . . . and therefore require some Nutriment . . . which is [got] by sucking the Bloud and Spirits of these forlorn wretches [that is witches].⁵⁵

This process, Hallywell then stated, was akin to the process by which the pagan gods were thought to be nourished by the blood and odours, or ‘Nidours’, of sacrifices. This notion was also reflected in English folkloric beliefs. Keith Thomas informs us that odours or ‘stinking utensils’ were often considered evidence of the presence of an animal familiar.⁵⁶ Even Hobbes, one of the protagonists Glanvill sought to refute, wrote of people who likened spirits to souls and therefore understood ghosts, dream images and spirits, all ‘Invisible Agents’, as having ‘thin aereall bodies’.⁵⁷

Matthew Hopkins provides probably the most significant discussion of the aerial nature of spirits that is relevant to Glanvill’s PVH, and it is worthwhile quoting him in full.

Quer. 7. How can it possibly be that the Devill being a spirit, and wants no nutriment or sustentation, should desire to suck any blood? and indeed as he is a spirit he cannot draw any such excressences, having neither flesh nor bone, nor can be felt, &c.

Ans. He seekes not their bloud, as if he could not subsist without that nourishment, but he often repairs to them, and gets it, the more to aggravate the Witches damnation, and to put her in mind of her Covenant: and as he is a Spirit and Prince of the ayre, he appeares to them in any shape whatsoever, which shape is occasioned by him through joyning of condensed thickned aire together, and many times doth assume shapes of many creatures; but to create any thing he cannot do it, it is only proper to God: But in this case of drawing out of these Teats, he doth really enter into the body, reall, corporeall, substantiall creature, and forceth that Creature (he working in it) to his desired ends, and

useth the organs of that body to speake withall to make his compact up with the Witches, be the creature Cat, Rat, Mouse, &c.⁵⁸

This is the only other account I have found which describes transference into the witch during this ritual sucking. However, while Hopkins suggests that the Devil uses the ritual of sucking as an opportunity to possess the witch ('he doth really enter into the body'), Glanvill suggests the spirit infuses a distinct substance into her. Nevertheless, the similarities between these two accounts are clear and Hopkins provides the only known precedent for Glanvill's PVH at this time.

There is, however, a similar transference between two witches described in the 1618 examination of the Belvoir Witches. Joan Willimot reported that she became a witch after receiving her familiar from her master who 'willed her to open her mouth' so that he could 'blow into her a Fairy which should doe her good'.

... [And] after his blowing, there came out of her mouth a Spirit, which stood upon the ground in the shape and forme of a woman, which Spirit did aske of her her soule, which shee then promised unto it, being willed thereunto by her Master.⁵⁹

While this process is distinct from the familiar's ritual sucking of the witch, and describes, as does Hopkins, a process more akin to possession, the account potentially represents an additional stage in the development of Glanvill's PVH and, significantly, demonstrates that the process drew on English popular beliefs.

The PVH and Experimental Philosophy

In 1665–1666 the stage was set for Glanvill's attempt to empirically investigate the aerial realm of spirits by scientific achievements such as Robert Hooke's famous *Micrographia* (1665), which presented detailed images of insects and plant cells and inspired Glanvill's hope that science would soon be able to observe aerial beings. Other topics of interest in 1665–1666 also seem to have contributed to the development of the PVH specifically. For example, with the encouragement of Boyle, John Wilkins and the Society, English physician Richard Lower accomplished the first successful blood transfusion between animals in 1665. The procedure, performed on two dogs, was reported in the *Philosophical Transactions* and later applauded by Glanvill in his *Plus ultra*.⁶⁰ Lower's work followed on from numerous experiments in the intravenous injection of substances undertaken by, among others, Boyle, Wilkins and Christopher Wren in Oxford in the 1650s.⁶¹ Such work demonstrated the efficacy of the transferal mechanisms that Glanvill's PVH presumed and even supported the notion that substances could be transferred from one animal to another. However there were two other topical areas of

investigation which had notable influence on the PVH: the iatrochemical notions of contagion and the identification of gaseous substances.

While the notion of external contagions was not new, it was becoming more popular in the mid-seventeenth century.⁶² This shift was stimulated by the rising popularity of Paracelsian chemistry which taught that disease was caused by insensible external pollutants not by an imbalance in the humours of the body as claimed by Galenic medical theory.⁶³ George Starkey, who tutored Boyle in chemistry in the 1650s, was a leading advocate in England for the concept that diseases, cures and other chemical phenomena were the result of the 'interaction of insensible particles accompanied by powers or forces'.⁶⁴ Indeed, describing a process very similar to Glanvill's PVH, Starkey differentiated between toxic substances like arsenic and oil of vitriol (sulphuric acid) and animal venoms injected through 'the biting of Serpents, the biting of mad dogs, &c'. The efficacy of the venoms, he writes, being 'only in the power of that angry beast that inflicts it'.⁶⁵ Glanvill was evidently familiar with Starkey's work, for he included in his *Plus ultra* an account of some unpublished experiments on freezing processes that Starkey undertook with Boyle.⁶⁶

Similarly, by the 1660s, air-pump experiments were already suggesting the existence of gases, different substances contained in the previously generic element "air". These air-pump experiments contributed to the development of Robert Boyle's notion that 'the Subtle, but Corporeal, Emanations' of even celestial bodies would 'mingle with those [airs] of our globe in that great receptacle or rendezvous of Celestial and Terrestrial Effluvia, the Atmosphere'.⁶⁷ Given that the air-pump had demonstrated that air had mass and substance from the time of the publication of Boyle's *New Experiments, Physico-Mechanical, Touching the Spring of the Air, and Its Effects* . . . (1660), and Glanvill was clearly familiar with Boyle by 1662, it is likely that this intellectual environment contributed to Glanvill's enthusiasm for the aerial theory of spirits and witchcraft. Indeed in his *Plus ultra*, Glanvill wrote:

These and many more such-like beneficial Observations and Discoveries, hath that great Man [Boyle] made by the help of his Pneumatick Engine; and there is no doubt but more, and perhaps greater things will be disclosed by it, when future ingenuity and diligence hath improved and perfected this invention . . . And 'tis like this Instrument hereafter will be used and applyed to things yet unthought of . . .⁶⁸

Glanvill's high opinion of the device is clear, while he tantalizingly hints at his hopes for the device's future possible uses. From the broader context of Glanvill's interactions with Boyle, we can also infer that Glanvill hoped a method would be devised whereby Boyle's air-pump could be used to detect the poisonous vapours he hypothesized were infused into the witch by her familiar, and potentially the aerial substance of the spirits themselves.

Glanvill grounded his theory of spirits within a natural philosophical framework through the PVH and its links to these medical theories, experiments and Boyle's work on aerial substances.⁶⁹ His relative success linking the substance of spirits and aerial substances or vapours with experimental philosophy and contemporary discoveries is evidenced by Boyle's ongoing support for his investigations into and publications concerning witchcraft. Although Glanvill does not overtly link his work with Boyle's when discussing the substance of spirits in the Letter, he does state that 'the Air and all the Regions above us may have their invisible intellectual Agents, of nature like unto our souls'.⁷⁰ Moreover, he argues that it would be ignorant to think such aerial intelligences didn't exist because we cannot perceive them, given the recently discovered richness of the microscopic world. He then articulates his hope that new discoveries might soon make creatures of more subtle bodies perceptible, both those of 'all the vast spaces above, and hollows under ground'.⁷¹ In a letter to Glanvill of 18 September 1677, Boyle seems to support this principle. He writes that by establishing that 'there are intelligent beings, that are not ordinarily visible' Glanvill's work will be of 'good service to religion' *and* 'help to enlarge the somewhat too narrow conceptions men are wont to have'.⁷² The significance of Boyle's support here is heightened when juxtaposed with the strong, adverse reaction Boyle had to More's attempts in the 1670s and 1680s to appropriate his hydrostatical experiments as proof of his Spirit of Nature.⁷³

Methodical Doubt and Eclecticism

Despite Boyle's goodwill toward Glanvill, the combination and adaptation of common, traditional explanations and the discoveries of leading contemporary experimental philosophers may, initially, appear to justify a characterization of Glanvill as a mere compiler of other people's ideas. However, this does not do justice to the recognition Glanvill achieved as a proponent of eclectic philosophy. His achievement in this is reflected in the innovative way in which he analysed, selected and combined components of existing theories to produce a new and unique hypothesis, the PVH, which was adapted to seventeenth-century methodological standards and viable according to a number of currently competing philosophical paradigms.

Glanvill's eclectic methodology also allowed him to explain the more fantastical aspects of witchcraft lore coherently and develop an explanation for them which seemed to have the potential to, in the near future, become experimentally verifiable. Through this approach, he appropriated contemporary arguments against witchcraft as developed by Weyer, Scot and eventually Webster, weakening the strength of the sceptical position regarding witchcraft.⁷⁴ Recognizing these achievements is crucial to understanding the popular heights Glanvill's work achieved. For though there was a long history of familiar spirits ritually taking in the blood, odours and "warmth" of people, animals (particularly pigs) and sacrifices,⁷⁵ Glanvill was unique in

his suggestion that there was transference *from* the demon back *to* the witch in this process as well. By suggesting this was the case, he appropriated the humoral mechanisms being employed by opponents of witchcraft like Scot and Weyer to argue that witchcraft was an illusory by-product of a melancholic disease. Then, through the PVH, he demonstrated how these same naturalized mechanisms could also plausibly explain how spirits interacted with humans. As it was increasingly common for witchcraft sceptics, including Weyer and Webster, to admit the existence of spirits but challenge their inclination and ability to produce sensible effects, the PVH's links to recent medical experimentation was essential to the success of Glanvill's case for the existence of witchcraft.

The Reception of the PVH

Glanvill's PVH was well received by the fellow disciple of More, George Rust.⁷⁶ One of the additions included at the end of the Letter in 1668 was an extensive quotation from Rust concerning Valentine Greatrakes, the famous Irish faith healer who visited England at the behest of More and Lady Anne Conway in 1666, the same year Glanvill first published his Letter.⁷⁷ Referring to a substance that seemed to be the antithesis of Glanvill's poisonous vapours, Rust wrote that he 'takes his [Greatrakes'] spirits to be a kind of Elixer, and Universal Ferment; and that he cures . . . (as Dr M[ore]. expresseth it) . . . by a Sanative Contagion'.⁷⁸ In another parallel, Henry Stubbe, a sometime friend and sometime foe of Glanvill, described Greatrakes as healing through the transference of a universal healing *effluvia* which dissipated 'all heterogeneous Ferments out of the Bodies of the Diseased, by the Eyes, Nose, Mouth, Hands and Feet'.⁷⁹

These discussions about the nature of Greatrakes' healing power further suggest that Glanvill's PVH was conceptually linked to Boyle's work. The concept and study of *effluvia* was strongly associated with Boyle, who believed that all bodies of matter exuded *effluvia* capable of penetrating other nearby bodies.⁸⁰ That *effluvia*, vapours and contagions were inter-related concepts is confirmed by More. More equated Greatrakes' healing powers with those of a previous English stroker, Matthew Coker.⁸¹ More discussed Coker's case in his *Enthusiasmus triumphatus* (1656), and wrote in the 1675 annotations on that work:

There may be very well a sanative and healing contagion, as well as a morbid and venomous. This very place I shewed to that excellent person, Mr. Boyle, at London, as I was talking with him in a bookseller's shop, being asked by him what I thought of the cures of Valentine Greatrakes [sic], with the fame of which all places rung at that time. I told him my opinion was fixed about those cures some years before they were performed; for that one Coker (for that was the name of the person whose remarkable way of curing or healing I now mention) by a very gentle chafing or rubbing of his hand, cured diseases ten years ago,

to the best of my remembrance, as Gretrakes did, though [his successes were] not so many and various.⁸²

More, like Rust, believed that Greatrakes healed via a ‘sanative and healing contagion’ that was akin to Glanvill’s ‘morbid and venomous’ vapours. More’s original discussion in the *Enthusiasmus triumphatus* also indicated that he considered these contagions (both good and bad) to operate through the natural chemical ‘spirits’ in the body.⁸³

Glanvill’s opponents, on the other hand, tended not to engage seriously with Glanvill’s PVH, or with the natural philosophical aspects of his work in general. Wagstaffe’s *Question of Witchcraft Debated* did not mention the theory at all. In *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*, Webster’s discussion of suckling familiars was blatantly dismissive. Webster queried why, if Glanvill believed the PVH was ‘most probable’, he still brought in ‘the other two [suppositions], that are less probable’.⁸⁴ This statement demonstrates that Webster recognized the PVH as Glanvill’s preferred hypothesis. However, choosing not to challenge the logic of the PVH directly, Webster instead challenged the effectiveness of Glanvill’s rhetorical style and the Pyrrhonian desire to avoid dogmatizing that inspired it. He also discounted Glanvill’s epistemological method and views on testimony. However, rather than engaging Glanvill on the role attributed to testimonial evidence in the process of knowledge creation, as the method promoted by the Royal Society, Webster responds to the PVH and the suckling of familiars with a moralizing statement:

[such claims] are not credible, by reason of their obscenity and filthiness, for chaste ears would tingle to hear such bawdy and immodest lyes; and what pure and sober minds would not nauseate and startle to understand such unclean stories, as of the carnal Copulation of the Devil with a Witch, or of his sucking the Teat or Wart of an old stinking and rotten Carkass?⁸⁵

Webster’s reliance on such arguments may help explain the difficulty he had publishing his book. Letters from Webster to Martin Lister, a physician and FRS, indicate that the licence to print *The Displaying* was initially rejected and it was only by begging the assistance of his influential friend, Lister, that Webster managed to get the book published.⁸⁶ Despite eventually being printed with the Royal Society’s imprimatur and in stark contrast to Glanvill’s many editions, only one edition of *The Displaying* was printed before Christian Thomasius’s German translation of 1719.⁸⁷ Webster was also never admitted as a Fellow.

This analysis of Glanvill’s Letter has shown how his approach to the investigation of witchcraft was premised on more than rhetoric and religion. It demonstrates that although Glanvill had only basic experience of practical

experimental philosophy himself, his method and hypotheses were well grounded in current experimental investigations and discoveries. This connection with experimental philosophy was essential to supporting the metaphysically immanent status of Glanvill's spirits and provided the foundation for the empirical investigations into the spiritual realm that he sought to inspire. Indeed, Boyle's support of Glanvill's investigations throughout the 1670s, which culminated in the *Collection of Relations*, supports the notion that these activities can also be viewed as a part of a preliminary natural history of the "super"-natural, as Boyle's own investigations into the elasticity of air and second sight have been.⁸⁸

Boyle was certainly prepared to speak out publicly in support of the scientific investigation of witchcraft and spiritual phenomena. In *Some Considerations about the Reconcilableness of Reason and Religion* Boyle wrote:

That the Supernatural things, said to be perform'd by Witches and Evil Spirits, might, if true, supply us with Hypotheses and Mediums whereby to constitute and prove Theories, as well as the Phænomena of meer nature, seems tacitely indeed, but yet sufficiently, to be acknowledg'd, by those modern Naturalists, that care not to take any other way to decline the Consequences that may be drawn from such Relations, than solicitously to shew, that the Relations themselves are all (as I fear most of them are) false, and occasion'd by the Credulity or Imposture of Men.⁸⁹

This was a reminder to remain vigilant and cautious. Indeed Boyle also informed Glanvill he suspected as many as nineteen out of twenty reports of witchcraft and apparitions were false. However, as will be seen in the following chapters, Boyle was also confident in Glanvill's ability to provide both reliable relations and plausible and experimentally viable theories of supernatural phenomena that would increase knowledge of the natural world.⁹⁰

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Notes

1. Hunter, "New Light," 211–353. Cf. Broad, "Cavendish and Glanvill," 493–505; Lewis, "Spectral Currencies," 87–92. Cf. Alfred Owen Aldridge, "Franklin and the Ghostly Drummer of Tedworth," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 7.4

- (1950): 559–567; Georges Edelen, “Joseph Glanvill, Henry More, and the Phantom Drummer of Tedworth,” *Harvard Library Bulletin* 10 (1956): 186–192.
2. The major works involved in this debate were Webster’s *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* (1677), Glanvill’s *Blow at Modern Sadducism* (1668) and the *Saducismus triumphatus* (1681).
3. Thomas Harmon Jobe, “The Devil in Restoration Science: The Glanvill-Webster Witchcraft Debate,” *Isis* 72.3 (1981): 342; Owen, “Life and Works,” xl. For examples of the perpetuation of this view see: Attfield, “Bekker,” 393; Edelen, “Glanvill, More and Tedworth,” 192; Jones, “The Background,” 79.
4. Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 346–348; Thomas, *Religion and Decline*, 691.
5. Prior, “Glanvill,” 187–193.
6. That Glanvill subscribed to this epistemological method is clearly evident in many of his works, especially two of his earliest publications: *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* (1661) and its revision *Scepsis scientifica* (1665). Prior, “Glanvill,” 189; R. M. Burns, *The Great Debate on Miracles: From Joseph Glanvill to David Hume* (Lewisburg, PA: Blackwell University Press, 1981), 48–49.
7. Also referred to as ‘scientific skepticism’: Prior, “Glanvill,” 189; and ‘moderate empiricism’: Burns, *Great Debate*, 19.
8. Burns, *Great Debate*, 19–20, 29–32. On Sprat’s agreement: Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal-Society of London for the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (London, 1667), 85, 95ff. Cf. PE66_WingG817A_4–7, 33–35.
9. Prior, “Glanvill,” 187–188; Robert Boyle, “General Heads for a Natural History of a Countrey, Great or Small, Imparted Likewise by Mr. Boyle,” *Philosophical Transactions* 1 (1665–1666): 186–189; Robert Boyle, “Articles of Inquiries Touching Mines,” *Philosophical Transactions* 1 (1665–1666): 330–343.
10. On the nature of the changes made to the Letter across its various versions, see Chapter 2 and Table 1 and Table 2.
11. ST81_WingG822_sig.A3r, 57. Cf. Chapter 2.
12. PE66_WingG817A_4, 14; BMS68_WingG800_4–5, 15; ST81_WingG822_4, 13(2). References to multiple editions will only be given when demonstrating consistency is particularly relevant.
13. LO82_WingG833_sig.C2v.
14. BMS68_WingG800_9.
15. Glanvill uses the word ‘hypothesis’ regularly throughout the work. PE66_WingG817A_8, 15, 19, 21; BMS68_WingG800_9, 16, 20, 23; ST81_WingG822_8, 14, 18, 20(2).
16. Broad, “Cavendish and Glanvill,” 502.
17. Cope, “Anglican Apologist,” 1954, 223.
18. Easlea, *Witch-Hunting, Magic*, 205.
19. BMS68_WingG800_4–5, 15.
20. The reception of Henry More’s work demonstrates the consequences of failing to be conscious of the limitations of one’s own knowledge in seventeenth-century Britain. More was accused of being dogmatic with increasing frequency and intensity during the 1670s and 1680s. Henry, “More versus Boyle,” 57–58.
21. BMS68_WingG800_2, 15–22, 42–46, 102–103.
22. For examples of this approach see: Broad, “Cavendish and Glanvill,” 502; Cope, “Anglican Apologist,” 1954, 254; Bostridge, *Witchcraft and Transformations*, 57, 75–77, 83; Gibson, *Witchcraft and Society*, 227–228.
23. Essays76_WingG809_IV:27, 40(3).
24. BMS68_WingG800_115–118.
25. Hunter, *Occult Laboratory*, 7.
26. Webster, *Paracelsus to Newton*, 103 n.58.
27. Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 306; Sharpe, *Witchcraft*, 79–80; Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, 335; Jobe, “Devil in Science,” 356; Prior, “Glanvill,” 188.

28. BMS68_WingG800_36.
29. While the original dates of the sermons are unknown, Glanvill repeatedly describes how spirits and the Devil influence people's thoughts and actions via humoural manipulation: Discourses81_WingG831_III:177–179, V:230, X:384–387, XI:418–419.
30. PE66_WingG817A_17–18; BMS68_WingG800_18–20; ST81_WingG822_16–17(2).
31. James Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1996), 71.
32. Anon, *The Apprehension and Confession of Three Notorious Witches* (London, 1589); Deborah Willis, *Malevolent Nurture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 52–55ff.
33. Anon, *A Rehearsall Both Straung and True* (London, 1579); Willis, *Malevolent Nurture*, 53.
34. Charles Zika, *The Appearance of Witchcraft* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 79–82, Fig.3.10.
35. Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness*, 71–73; Thomas, *Religion and Decline*, 530.
36. Bernard, *Guide to Grand-Iury Men*, 106–108; Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness*, 94, 180; Thomas, *Religion and Decline*, 530.
37. BMS68_WingG800_18–20, 27.
38. BMS68_WingG800_20.
39. Alonso de Salazar Frias, “Verdict in a Trial of 1610,” in Kors and Peters, *Witchcraft in Europe*, 408–409. Cf. Chapter 2.
40. BMS68_WingG800_20.
41. BMS68_WingG800_26–27, 36.
42. BMS68_WingG800_28, 34–37.
43. For a detailed account of attitudes to the “super”-natural in early modern philosophy see: Keith Hutchison, “The Natural, the Supernatural, and the Occult in the Scholastic Universe,” in *1543 and All That: Image and Word, Change and Continuity in the Proto-Scientific Revolution*, ed. A. Coronas and G. Freeland (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Pub, 1999).
44. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 56.
45. Owen Davies, “The Nightmare Experience, Sleep Paralysis, and Witchcraft Accusations,” *Folklore* 114.2 (2003): 182–183.
46. Scot, *Discoverie*, 86.
47. Lawrence Normand and Gareth Roberts, eds, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), 414; Davies, “Nightmare Experience,” 187. For Burton's explanation of nightmares see: Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford, 1621), 93.
48. *The Athenian Oracle* (London, 1703), 292–293; Davies, “Nightmare Experience,” 188.
49. Weyer, “*De praestigiis daemonum*,” 186.
50. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 200.
51. Scot, *Discoverie*, 277–279.
52. BMS68_WingG800_26–36; Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, trans. J[ames] F[reake] (London, 1651), book 1, chapter LX–LXV.
53. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 39–54, esp. 52.
54. Weyer, “*De praestigiis daemonum*,” 346.
55. Henry Hallywell, *Melampronea* (London, 1681), 99ff.
56. Thomas, *Religion and Decline*, 731.
57. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 53.
58. Matthew Hopkins, *The Discovery of Witches* (London, 1647), 4–5.
59. Margaret Flower (d.1618), *Witchcrafts, Strange and Wonderfull* (Smithfeld, 1635), sig.B4r.

60. Pete Moore, *Blood and Justice* (Chichester: Wiley, 2002), 67–74. Cf. PU68_WingG820_17–18; Robert Boyle, “Tryals Proposed by Mr. Boyle to Dr. Lower, to Be Made by Him, for the Improvement of Transfusing Blood out of One Live Animal into Another; Promised Numb. 20. p. 357,” *Philosophical Transactions* 1 (1665): 385–388.
61. Moore, *Blood and Justice*, 40–44.
62. See, for example, the 1349 report from Montpellier in which a doctor describes the spreading of the plague via ‘the air breathed out by the sick and inhaled by the healthy people round about wounds and kills them’. “The Transmission of Plague,” in *The Black Death*, ed. Rosemary Horrox (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), extract 61.
63. Antonio Clericuzio, “The Internal Laboratory: The Chemical Reinterpretation of Medical Spirits in England (1650–1680),” in *Alchemy and Chemistry in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, ed. Piyo Rattansi and Antonio Clericuzio (Dordrecht; Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1994), 51.
64. William Newman, “Starkey, George (1628–1665),” online ed., Sept 2015, *DNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com (homepage); William Newman and Lawrence Principe, *Alchemy Tried in the Fire: Starkey, Boyle, and the Fate of Helmontian Chymistry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 12.
65. George Starkey, *Natures Explication and Helmont’s Vindication* (London, 1657), 93–94. Cf. Newman and Principe, *Alchemy Tried*, 230.
66. PU68_WingG820_103–107. Starkey’s works were published under the pseudonym Eirenaeus Philalethes. Newman and Principe, *Alchemy Tried*, 24 n.51.
67. Robert Boyle, “Suspensions about Some Hidden Qualities of the Air (1674),” in *The Works of Robert Boyle*, ed. Michael Hunter and Edward B. Davis (Charlottesville, VA: InteLex, 2003), 8:122. Cf. Clericuzio, “Internal Laboratory,” 58.
68. PU68_WingG820_64; Essays76_WingG809_III:29(2).
69. Although his presence at the Gresham air-pump demonstrations was not recorded, Dorothy Stimson claims that Glanvill was publicly associated with Boyle’s experiments through a ballad composed in c.1663 of which he was the likely author. Dorothy Stimson, “Ballad of Gresham Colledge,” *Isis* 18.1 (1932): 103–106; Stimson, *Scientists and Amateurs*, 57. However, the poem has also been attributed to others, see: Sherwood Taylor, “An Early Satirical Poem on the Royal Society,” *Notes and Records* 5.1 (1947): 37–144. Regardless, Glanvill was certainly familiar with Boyle’s work by 1662 when he sent Boyle a copy of his *Lux orientalis*. See Chapter 3. Cf. Davies, “More Than a Mouthpiece?,” 190.
70. BMS68_WingG800_8–10.
71. BMS68_WingG800_9.
72. Boyle-Glanvill_18/9/1677_4:456–457. Although this quote follows an analogy made between witchcraft and alchemy, the sentiment is still one of support for Glanvill’s work and method. Note also a discrepancy in the qualifying phrase which follows this quote. It reads ‘of the amplitude and variety of the works of gold’ in the cited Hunter edition; but ‘of the amplitude and variety of the works of God’ in Birch’s edition: Thomas Birch, ed., *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle* (London: Printed for J. and F. Rivington, 1772), 6:58. The whereabouts of the original version of this letter is unknown. The relationship between Boyle and Glanvill will be discussed further in Chapter 8.
73. Henry, “More versus Boyle,” 57. Cf. Chapter 3; Davies, “More Than a Mouthpiece?,” 201–202.
74. Scot, *Discoverie*; Weyer, “*De praestigiis daemonum*”; Webster, *Displaying*.
75. For a more concise account of this tradition than found in the Letter see: Hal-lywell, *Melampronea*, 99–103.

76. Glanvill describes his correspondent as 'Reverend Dr. R. Dean of C.' BMS68_WingG800_106. This is certainly George Rust, Dean of Connor. Marjorie Hope Nicolson, ed., *The Conway Letters, the Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More and Their Friends: 1642–1684*, Revised by Sarah Hutton (Charlottesville, VA: InteLex, 2003), 208.
77. Nicholas H. Steneck, "Greatrakes the Stroker: The Interpretations of Historians," *Isis* 73.2 (1982): 161.
78. BMS68_WingG800_106–108; ST81_WingG822_90–92(2).
79. Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923–1958), 8:176; Henry Stubbe, *The Miraculous Conformist, or, An Account of Severall Marvailous Cures Performed by the Stroking of the Hands of Mr. Valentine Greatarick with a Physicall Discourse Thereupon . . .* (Oxford, 1666), 10–11.
80. Robert Boyle, "Essays of Effluviums (1673)," in *Boyle Works*, 7:244; Thorndike, *History of Magic*, 8:174.
81. Steneck, "Greatrakes the Stroker," 173.
82. The *scholia* were originally appended to the Latin collection of works that More published in 1675. Henry More, *Henrici Mori Cantabrigiensis opera theologica anglie quidem primitus scripta, nunc verò per autorem Latine reddita* (London, 1675). They first appeared in English in: More, *A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings*, 1712, 51.
83. For More, these "spirits" are not to be confused with spiritual beings. They are the animating spirits associated with More's Spirit of Nature. Henry More, "Enthusiasmus triumphatus," in *A Collection*, 1662, 41.
84. Webster, *Displaying*, 81.
85. Webster, *Displaying*, 68.
86. Webster-Lister_12/1/1674_fol.145–147; Webster-Lister_13/2/1674_fol.148; Webster-Lister_6/3/1674_fol.157.
87. John Webster, *Untersuchung der vermeinten und so genannten Hexereyen*, ed. Christian Thomasius (Halle, 1719); Bostridge, *Witchcraft and Transformations*, 126.
88. Hunter, *Occult Laboratory*, 9; William Whiston, *An Account of the Dæmonicks, and of the Power of Casting out Dæmons, Both in the New Testament, and in the Four First Centuries* (London, 1737), 74–75; Webster, *Paracelsus to Newton*, 98.
89. Robert Boyle, *Some Considerations about the Reconcilableness of Reason and Religion* (London, 1675), 86–87.
90. Boyle-Glanvill_18/9/1677_4:455–457.

5 Playing a New Tune

The Drummer of Tedworth and Glanvill's Stylistic Reform

The discussions of Glanvill's ideas about the nature of souls and witchcraft in previous chapters demonstrated how Glanvill attempted to apply contemporary experimental methodologies to the discussion of metaphysically immanent phenomena. Despite his ultimate failure to establish an empirical discipline focused on the study of the metaphysical realm, the way Glanvill framed his investigations protected his reputation among his contemporaries. Although not without his critics, Glanvill was positively received by most of his contemporaries and was less often accused of dogmatism, credulity or lack of intellectual integrity than many contemporaries who tackled similar topics, including Henry More and Meric Casaubon.¹ By comparing the stylistic revisions Glanvill made to his works on experimental philosophy with those he made to the Tedworth account, this chapter further illustrates how Glanvill's commitment to the Royal Society's experimental philosophy was manifested in his works. Exploring these stylistic consistencies across his corpus helps to clarify the nature of Glanvill's intellectual engagement with the Society and provides additional insight into the potential that many Fellows saw in his work.

Glanvill has been consistently praised for contributing to the development of a rhetorical style that encouraged avoiding magical and mystical overtones in natural philosophical writing. Ryan Stark, in particular, has demonstrated how Glanvill's rhetorical shifts, rather than rhetorical elisions, contributed to the emergence of a plainer and more objective prose that embodied the Royal Society's ideals of impartial, experimental observation of natural phenomena.² Scholars such as Richard Popkin, Stephen Medcalf, Sacha Talmor and R. M. Burns have all analysed the stylistic revisions Glanvill made to the three versions of his work on experimental philosophical methods, namely, *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* (1661), the *Scepsis scientifica* (1665) and the essay version which appeared as Essay I, "Against Confidence in Philosophy, and Matters of Speculation" in *Essays on Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion* (1676). While David Carrithers made the bold claim that *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* was 'probably the greatest English tract on Scepticism of the whole century',³ many scholars have placed more emphasis on the revisions which Glanvill made to that work. Glanvill's rhetorical

and linguistic revisions across the three versions of *The Vanity* are thought to have been philosophically motivated.⁴ For example, it has been suggested that Glanvill's revisions reflect movement toward the philosophical notions of causality and objective empiricism associated with the influential work of John Locke and David Hume.⁵

The revisions and additions made to the *Philosophical Endeavour*, or Letter of Witchcraft, in its journey to becoming the *Saducismus triumphatus* have also interested scholars, though to a lesser extent.⁶ Heretofore, the detailed scholarship has focused primarily on the Tedworth account, comparing the version included in the *Blow at Modern Sadducism* of 1668 with the revised version from the posthumous editions of the *Saducismus*.⁷ Glanvill revised the Tedworth account while in discussion with Robert Boyle about how best to approach the Collection of Relations and the analysis of evidence for the existence of witches. Given the context of these discussions and the role Glanvill's natural history of witchcraft was to play in the establishment of a science of witchcraft, it is unsurprising that there are several consistencies in the type and nature of the revisions Glanvill made to the versions of the Tedworth account and *The Vanity*. This chapter explores the relationship between the revisions to Glanvill's writings on witchcraft and the stylistic revisions he made to the three versions of *The Vanity* showing how they both reflected and reinforced his conception of an ideal philosophical method.

The Drummer of Tedworth Case

The Tedworth account brought Glanvill both fame and notoriety. According to Glanvill and his confidant John Mompesson, an excise and militia commission officer from North Tidworth,⁸ the Mompesson household was plagued by a poltergeist after Mompesson oversaw the arrest of an itinerant military drummer accused of defrauding the constable of Ludgershall, a nearby village. Although the drummer, William Drury, was ultimately freed, his drum was confiscated and brought to Mompesson's home. The arrival of the drum precipitated months of torment and the family was beset by phantom drumming sounds and animal noises, unexplained odours and lights, injuries to livestock, levitating furniture and other moving objects that were often dangerously propelled around the room. So many visitors to the house verified these happenings that in 1663 Mompesson was called before Charles II, who nominated two courtiers, Philip Stanhope, second Earl of Chesterfield, and Charles Berkeley, Earl of Falmouth, to investigate the happenings. The royal investigation was unfruitful. A later account Stanhope most likely wrote in 1664 indicates that 'wee could neither see nor heare any thing that was extraordinary, and about a year after his majesty told mee that hee had discovered the Cheat, and that Mr Mompesson (upon his Majesties sending for him) had confes'd it to him'.⁹ However, the happenings at Tedworth were also investigated by Glanvill, who visited the house

to observe and assess the phenomena personally. Glanvill's report of the happenings, including his own experiences, was then produced at William Brereton's request, and first appended to Glanvill's *A Blow at Modern Saducism* (1668).¹⁰ Glanvill noted that he had intended to print a stand-alone edition of the Tedworth report 'some years' after 1668, but clarifies that this did not eventuate.¹¹ However, the account was then incorporated into the Collection of Relations as "Relation I" in More's posthumous editions of the *Saducismus*.¹²

The Tedworth case has attracted a good deal of interest from historians as a stand-alone case, most recently by the eminent scholar Michael Hunter, and rightly so. The popular tale was widely disseminated via oral accounts, manuscripts and in print.¹³ Glanvill's version of events is reproduced in other significant works, including Increase Mather's *Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences* (1684) and George Sinclair's *Satan's Invisible World Discovered* (1685), to name just two.¹⁴ The account was also translated into both Dutch and German.¹⁵ Interest in the case persisted through the Enlightenment period with satirical representations such as Joseph Addison's play *The Drummer; or, The Haunted House* (1715).¹⁶ In response to Addison, one J. Roberts reasserted the story's validity: he published a new account of the 'Pranks which were play'd at Tedworth by Mr. Glanville's [sic] Daemon' based on Relation I from the *Saducismus*. Roberts also found Relation IX of the *Saducismus* particularly compelling and appended this account of a ghost in Marlborough that, notably, appeared in the day time as additional evidence of spiritual activity.¹⁷ Several decades later, in his *Credulity, Superstition, and Fanaticism* of 1762 (Figure 5.1), William Hogarth placed the Drummer of Tedworth at the pinnacle of an emotional gauge that, in turn, stands upon a base made out of a book labelled 'Glanvil on Witches'.¹⁸ Though satirical in its intent, Hogarth's design attests to Glanvill's enduring association with the Tedworth case. The nature of the device also associates Glanvill and his approach to the case with experimental philosophy. Hogarth's critique manifests in the nature of the labels placed on the gauge which measures conditions including 'raving madness', 'lust' and 'despair'. The gauge is currently giving the reading of 'luke warm'. These associations help explain the nineteenth-century interest in the Tedworth case, that culminated in the sympathetic attention of members of the Society for Psychical Research who considered Glanvill among their precursors.¹⁹

While the enduring influence of the Tedworth case has attracted the attention of many scholars, the Tedworth account is also valuable to studies of the development of Glanvill's thought. He substantially revised the Tedworth account between the 1668 and 1681 editions, quite unlike the way he simply made additions and insignificant changes to the Letter of Witchcraft. Thus, although we cannot be certain that More did not make additional changes to the 1681 version, the Tedworth account represents one of the only portions of the *Saducismus* we can use to trace changes in Glanvill's thought and method with some confidence.²⁰



Figure 5.1 William Hogarth, *Credulity, Superstition, and Fanaticism* (1762).

Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 91.1.117. Gift of Sarah Lazarus, 1891. CC BY 1.0.

As identified by Hunter, there are four early sources for the Tedworth case available to us for comparison:

1. an unsigned account which dates from either 1663 or 1667;²¹
2. three letters from Mompesson to William Creed, and associated documents copied by William Fulman;²²
3. Glanvill's first published account that was appended to *A Blow at Modern Sadducism* in 1668; and
4. Glanvill's revised account that was published in 1681 as Relation I in the *Collection of Relations*.

The three letters housed at Corpus Christi College, Oxford from Mompesson to William Creed, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford and Mompesson's cousin by marriage, are accompanied by the following material concerning the events: an account by Mompesson; a fourth letter to Mompesson from his cousin, Sir Thomas Mompesson, a Wiltshire M.P.; and a fifth letter from one of Mompesson's neighbours to an otherwise unidentified Oxford don.²³ Since Glanvill told More that Mompesson 'was pleased to give mee all his letters, which were sent to the Doctor of the Chaire att Oxford, that contained an account of all the remarkeable perticulars of the whole disturbance', it is thought that Glanvill used copies of these letters when reconstructing the events that occurred prior to his own involvement with the case.²⁴

In some instances Glanvill's account stays true to Mompesson's original letters, particularly the letter to Creed dated 6 December [1662]. One passage which is virtually identical to Mompesson's account (in both of Glanvill's versions) describes the attempt of Mr Cragge, the local Minister, to intervene in the affair. It is reported that he 'came to the House [with Mompesson's neighbours] and went to prayer at the Childrens Bed-side, where at that time It was very troublesome'. All the details of this night were presented in a full and unaltered account, from the poltergeist's temporary retreat to the cockloft, to the hurling of the bedstaffe which hit Mr Cragge's leg 'so favourably, that a lock of Wooll could not have fallen more softly'.²⁵ This level of consistency occurs in many passages, even if there are also variations in the level of detail provided and the amount of theoretical extrapolation that follows. Thus, while the narrative of Glanvill's account matches the sequence of events in Mompesson's letter, there is a clear shift in style between these two versions of events.

Glanvill incorporated much of the 'florid' style for which he is famed into many passages of the 1668 edition, enlivening elements that were reported on quite soberly in Mompesson's original letters. This modification seems, in part, to reflect Glanvill's opinion of the original account, which he reportedly told Henry More came 'from a very sober hand'.²⁶ Thus the 'sulphoreous smell', which according to Mompesson's account 'was very offensive, but staid not long',²⁷ became in Glanvill:

very unpleasant, and offensive, which possibly [. . .] some would conjecture to be a smack of the bituminous matter brought from the mediterranean vaults, to which we may suppose the vehicles of those impure Spirits to be nearly allyed.²⁸

While more evocative and amusing to read, this embellishment can also be interpreted as an attempt to understand the events at Tedworth in a broader framework: in this case, in the framework of the spiritual realm as set out in the *Lux orientalis*.²⁹ However, these embellishments and dramatic flourishes are the very elements which are then removed from the

1681 account: the sulphurous smell returns, once again, to being merely 'very offensive'.³⁰

In a similar example, Mompesson matter-of-factly observes that the spirit plaguing his house typically desisted its nightly torment 'after two houres time (except it were now and then)' for no discernible reason; even prayer only made the being 'move a little way', and then, only sometimes.³¹ Glanvill, in contrast, reports the same observation but then speculates that the spirit regularly departed at that time because 'the Laws of the Black Society required its presence at the general Rendezvous elsewhere'. This extrapolation, which detracts from Glanvill's attempt to present an empirically sound and impartial account, is thus removed from the 1681 relation.³² However, this methodological lapse in Glanvill's 1668 account may have been more than an attempt to sensationalise the account for his readership. It can also be interpreted as an attempt to incorporate Sir Thomas Mompesson's explanation of the events as described in his letter to John Mompesson, the victim. Thomas suggests that the happenings may well be the result of a 'rendezvous of more than one' witch.³³ Glanvill only uses this term "rendezvous" when referring to the Sabbath two other times, once in the Letter to Robert Hunt, and once more later in the Tedworth account, where he is also reporting someone else's words.³⁴ This suggests that this particular extrapolation was an attempt to incorporate Thomas's views.

Rather than seeking to draw in and convince the reader through emotive language and vivid evocations, the 1681 edition focuses on providing additional details. So, as previously noted, several speculative explanations and theories are removed and the accounts are instead rounded out with more details about events and witnesses involved. Thus, while in the 1668 version, both the physician who believed he could solve all of Mompesson's problems for a mere one hundred pounds, and the Gentleman who accompanied him, remained untraceable, in the 1681 edition, both men are identified. The Gentleman is named Mr. Hill, and the doctor is referred to as 'Compton of Summersetshire'.³⁵

Glanvill is not entirely consistent in the practice of incorporating as much detail as possible. For example, in 1668 he faithfully recounts Mompesson's reference to a 'blue and glimmering' light which appeared one night in his bedchamber, also reporting the detail that it 'caused great stiffness in the Eyes of those that saw it'.³⁶ In the 1681 version, Glanvill's speculation that this 'Damon' might also have 'had its vehicle from the bituminous Mines of the lower Regions' is removed from this passage. However, given his identification of Mr. Hill and his companion, we might have expected Glanvill to clarify that it was Mompesson's wife who witnessed this incident.³⁷ There are three possible explanations for the omission of this detail, which is known from the letter to Creed. As Hunter observes, there are several other details included in this third letter to Creed which are also only partially related in the 1668 and 1681 accounts.³⁸ When preparing his accounts, Glanvill may have been using a similar, but less complete, account

of this event provided to him verbally or in a different letter. Alternatively, he may have been relying on his memory of the letter, having only borrowed a copy, as was the case with the case notes lent to him by Robert Hunt. Indeed the text suggests that any of these scenarios are possible. Glanvill concludes his relation with the comment that:

After this there were some other remarkable things; but my account goes no further. Only Mr. Mompesson writ me word, that afterwards the House was several nights beset with seven or eight in the shape of Men, who, as soon as a Gun was discharged, would shuffle away together into an Arbour.³⁹

This passage is just one of many which indicates that Glanvill's account was verified and elaborated through direct verbal and written contact with Mompesson.⁴⁰ This passage confirms that Mompesson's testimony, as presented in Glanvill's account, was not based *only* on the accounts sent to Creed.

Glanvill's account is also embellished with details of his own experiences in the house. This portion of the relation is expanded considerably from just over 1½ pages in the 1668 account to nearly 5½ pages of smaller text in the 1681 rendition.⁴¹ Glanvill justifies including these additional details:

This passage I mention not in the former Editions, because it depended upon my single Testimony, and might be subject to more Evasions than the other I related; but having told it to divers Learned and Inquisitive Men, who thought it not altogether inconsiderable, I have now added it here.⁴²

The accounts of Glanvill's personal investigations at Tedworth, in both versions, are dominated by details of his attempts to identify mundane sources for the mysterious noises he heard. He wrote of 'thrust[ing] his hand' into places and 'directing it to the place whence the noise seemed to come'.⁴³ He asserted his objectivity, assuring the reader that he was 'no more concern'd' and 'under no more affrightment' at the time than while writing his account.⁴⁴ These additional, personal details can be interpreted as a manifestation of 'the increased stress on sincerity and moral earnestness which was to become typical of latitudinarian divines'.⁴⁵ However, this interpretation would be more meaningful if new emphases or literary tropes had been introduced into the later account. Yet as it stands, all the elements of the relation—the personal experiences, the emphasis on investigation and control over emotions and fear—were readily apparent in both versions of the account. The account of Glanvill's personal investigation as it appears in the 1681 version is simply an expansion of the 1668 version. Indeed, if we look beyond the changes in syntax, the only completely new element in the 1681 version is Glanvill's description of his growing confidence in his ability to rationally observe and assess the situation. Furthermore, he acknowledges the

philosophical motivations behind this expansion, explicitly stating that he did this on the encouragement of several 'Learned and Inquisitive Men'.⁴⁶

Methodological Refinement in the Tedworth Relation

Given the posthumous publication of the *Saducismus*, we cannot be certain that Glanvill was responsible for all the changes in the Tedworth account as it was published in the Collection of Relations in 1681. However, as noted by Hunter, there are several indications that Glanvill circulated a revised account of the case several years before his death. Hunter situates the revision around the time that Glanvill was writing to Richard Baxter (1670) and Mompesson (1672) in response to rumours that Mompesson had confessed the whole affair had been a deceit.⁴⁷ Yet, there is reason to suspect that the revision published in 1681 was not composed until several years later. Glanvill evidently informed Robert Boyle of his intention to revise his work on witchcraft in response to Webster's *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* (1677). Then, on 18 September 1677, Boyle wrote to 'renew the request' for Glanvill to provide him 'with an entire narrative' of the 'strange story' that he had related to him the previous week. This 'strange story' is most likely the Tedworth case, and it seems reasonable to suppose that it was this request for 'an entire narrative' which prompted Glanvill to rework and expand the Tedworth account.⁴⁸ Indeed, several alterations made to the Tedworth account (which for convenience and clarity, I will continue to refer to as the 1681 version) are more than syntactical in nature, and involve the addition of further detail. These changes directly reflect the advice Boyle gave Glanvill in this exchange. Furthermore, Glanvill seemingly references this exchange when he describes being encouraged to reprint the Tedworth case, along with his Letter of Witchcraft, by 'some of the greatest Spirits of our Age and Nation', in order to refute Webster.⁴⁹

As will be explored in more detail in Chapter 8, Glanvill's exchange with Boyle focuses primarily on how empirically verifiable evidence of witchcraft would enable studies of associated phenomena that would expand our knowledge of both religion *and* the natural world, and how disbelief was best combatted through the demonstration of scientific knowledge.⁵⁰ It is clear from Boyle's enquiry into Glanvill's progress and his reference to the case they discussed in person, most likely the Tedworth case, that the extant letters are part of a broader dialogue which began in person.⁵¹ However, this exchange also provides further evidence of scepticism about such cases. Glanvill asks Boyle whether the rumours are true that Boyle 'now disown[s] the story of the Devill of Mascon', believing that 'a clear imposture hath bin discover'd in it'.⁵² Hunter reads Glanvill's enquiry as an indication that the rumours of fraud were effective 'in the sense that clearly the credibility of such beliefs was seriously undermined by them', and emphasizes the 'crucial role' such rumours had 'in bringing about the cultural change of fashionable opinion' and the marginalization of men like Glanvill.⁵³ However, in the

context of the whole exchange, the discussion relating to rumours of fraud or denial are eclipsed by the discussion of how to distinguish true cases from fraudulent ones. Thus Boyle confirms that he believes perhaps only one in twenty accounts of witchcraft are true, 'looking upon the other nineteen, as either false, or suspicious'. However, he also emphasizes that 'yet any one relation of a supernatural phaenomenon being fully proved, and duly verified, suffices to evince the thing contended for'. In service to this aim, he advises Glanvill that for evidence to be effective, any account of supernatural activity needs to be presented in such a way that the 'main circumstances' are 'impartially delivered, and sufficiently verified, either upon your own knowledge, or by the judicial records, or other competent vouchers'. Boyle's request for an impartial and verified account, *and* his recommendation that one way to achieve this standard was through the presentation of Glanvill's 'own knowledge', suggests that the expansion of Glanvill's personal investigation, in particular, was composed in response to this exchange.⁵⁴

The expanded account of Glanvill's personal experiences in the 1681 version also provides a narrative that reflects his intellectual engagement with the case, his process of investigation and his own journey through self-doubt. In a similar way, Hunter has shown how the accounts Mompesson sent to Creed highlight his personal journey of belief and allow us to trace how the witchcraft narrative developed. Mompesson's accounts show his transition from suspicion of burglary, through wonder at the phenomena of the beating drum, to the frustration and fear that prompted his attempts to regain control through prayer, the firing of pistols and, finally, to pursuing the witch thought to be responsible, William Drury.⁵⁵

Glanvill, however, became involved in the episode *after* the magical theory about the cause of the disturbance (Drury's invocation of a poltergeist) was already well established. In contrast to Mompesson, Glanvill approached the case with professional interest from the outset, and the modifications which he made to his accounts reflect a similar journey, albeit one of "professional" development. In 1668, Glanvill initially omitted various details of his investigation, such as his unsuccessful attempt to trap an entity in a linen bag, indicating that in 1668 he was not yet confident enough in his investigative abilities to report on certain elements of his experience.⁵⁶ As with Mompesson, it was through Glanvill's consultation with his peers that his belief in his own perceptions and analysis of his experiences was reinforced.⁵⁷ By including these additional details in the 1681 version, Glanvill was clearly following Boyle's advice and attempting to make his account more convincing to sceptics. However, the exchange with Boyle indicates that these rhetorical alterations were motivated by philosophical ideals and reflected increasing confidence in and peer support for Glanvill's methodology. These changes were not merely literary tropes employed because of theological concerns about Sadducism.⁵⁸ Indeed, the motivation for the revision of the Tedworth account is understood more clearly if we revisit the motivations for the original account's creation.

Motivations Behind the Tedworth Account

Glanvill's 1668 Tedworth account has been discussed in relation to the rumours circulating around the coffee-houses and Inns of Court in the 1660s and 1670s, which claimed that Mompesson had admitted some fraud.⁵⁹ Philip Stanhope, second Earl of Chesterfield, and one of the two appointed royal investigators, seems to have been behind the rumours. In an account written in 1664, he not only reported no unusual experiences during his visit, he claimed that Mompesson confessed the hoax to the king when he was summoned before him.⁶⁰ These rumours were evidently still in circulation years later, as they resurfaced in a letter by Richard Baxter dated 18 November 1670 in which he drew Glanvill's attention to rumours among the Sadducees at the Inns of Court, who declared that Mompesson confessed the happenings were 'all his own juggling'.⁶¹ In response, Glanvill questioned Mompesson who denied any such admission in his reply to Glanvill dated 8 November 1672.⁶² These reports of rumours have been interpreted as evidence of widespread scepticism and used to argue that Glanvill's Tedworth accounts were primarily a reaction against Sadducism and atheism.⁶³ While this is undoubtedly a strong motivating factor for Glanvill and he had much support from within the Society in this endeavour, there is further reason to believe the 1668 report was produced at Brereton's request for primarily natural philosophical ends.⁶⁴

The epistle dedicatory which prefaces the 1668 Tedworth account indicates that Glanvill produced the report in fulfilment of a promise made to William Brereton, then president of the Royal Society. We know that Glanvill was circulating an account of his investigation as early as March 1663, when Henry More recorded sending a copy to Lady Conway along with Glanvill's *Lux orientalis*.⁶⁵ However, the 1668 printed version includes events that happened after this time, in April 1663, confirming that the report, as published, was composed after More's letter. Glanvill also apologised for the delay in providing the report, claiming he was waiting for information about further events in the house. This suggests that the 1668 report was not composed immediately after the events of April 1663.⁶⁶ Indeed, considering we can demonstrate that Glanvill was investigating the Tedworth case *and* preparing a manuscript account for More in 1663, it is somewhat surprising that the case is not included in either the *Philosophical Endeavour* (1666) or *Philosophical Considerations* (1667).⁶⁷ The absence of the case in these first printings suggests the 1668 report may have been produced later. It is possible the discussions with Brereton about the Tedworth case may have occurred as late as 1667 after the Letter of Witchcraft was originally published in 1666.⁶⁸ Indeed, an enquiry at this time would complement the work Brereton was undertaking with Worthington: between 1666 and 1667 they were compiling accounts of prodigies, divination and prophecy (as well as accounts of natural phenomena) from the Hartlib collection.⁶⁹ Ultimately, and regardless of the timing of the composition, Brereton's encouragement

for the production of the 1668 account, combined with Glanvill's later discussions on method with Boyle, and the influence of these discussions on the revisions to the 1681 version, all suggest that Glanvill was increasingly and primarily concerned with the role the Tedworth case played in the production of 'a Cautious, and Faithful History' of supernatural events.⁷⁰

To clarify, I do not wish to imply that Glanvill was not concerned with combating atheism. This intention is clearly stated on many occasions. My analysis above suggests that Glanvill also believed that proving the existence of witchcraft was the most effective way to combat atheism. For that reason, and with Boyle's encouragement, he turned to the epistemological method of the Society in order to improve mankind's understanding of these phenomena and, in so doing, to develop an irrefutable evidentiary basis for a belief in the reality of witchcraft and the world of spirits. Glanvill's investigation was guided by the same epistemological and natural philosophical methods followed by his experimentalist colleagues at the Royal Society.

Precedents for Self-Reflection: The Scholar Gypsy and Sir Kenelm Digby

By the time Glanvill was working on the 1681 Tedworth account, circa 1676–1678, he had already made similar revisions to several other works, particularly the three versions of *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* in which he promotes the Royal Society's experimental method. The following analysis of the stylistic and philosophical consistencies in the revisions made to both *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* and the Tedworth account offer further support to the claim that the Tedworth account was motivated by both scientific and theological considerations.

The disposition towards continual refinement of evidence and style is evident in Glanvill's writings from a very early stage in his career. Thus, the first book Glanvill publishes, *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* (1661), is significantly revised by 1664. This work then undergoes a third revision in 1676, just before Glanvill seems to begin the second major revision of the Tedworth account. Each version marked a milestone in Glanvill's career. The *Vanity*, Glanvill's first publication, was released after his return to Oxford upon Rous's death. The *Scepsis* was published in 1665, the year after it was presented to the Royal Society prompting Glanvill's fellowship nomination. Finally, the collection containing the third version, "Against Confidence in Philosophy", was dedicated to the Marquess of Worcester shortly after Glanvill's promotion to Chaplain in Ordinary in 1675. Comparing the three versions of *The Vanity* shows that the trends observed in Glanvill's revisions to the Tedworth accounts were well entrenched in a wider range of his writings from an early stage. This in turn suggests that the revisions to the Tedworth account were not only a reaction to doubt about the case's authenticity, but were also part of a wider revision program which sought to

implement a more appropriate and effective philosophical style and methodological rigour to Glanvill's work across a range of topics.

As outlined previously, the first edition of this work was published in 1661 under the title *The Vanity of Dogmatizing*, the second was completed by 1664, though not published until 1665 under the title *Scepsis scientifica*, and the third version appeared as Essay I, entitled "Against Confidence in Philosophy, and Matters of Speculation" in the work *Essays on Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion* (1676). The revisions made in the *Scepsis* are comparatively minor, though effective enough at toning down the florid embellishments which characterized *The Vanity* in order to win Glanvill membership to the Royal Society. However, the revisions made in 1676 had considerably more impact. According to Stephen Medcalf, the 1676 rendition

is still recognisably the same book in structure and matter, [but] is rendered wholly different by its spare and abstract diction: one can see in it the beginning of a style of thought and language which lasts into our own time, the classic style of English rational empiricism.

In particular, we can trace Glanvill's shifting attitude toward Descartes, his criticism of Aristotelianism and the use of rhetorical metaphors through each edition. Across the editions, Glanvill tempers his fervent praise of Descartes, and equally his emphatic criticism of Aristotle, in addition to modifying several passages.⁷¹ I will focus on two such passages that effectively demonstrate the intellectual reshaping of *The Vanity*. These are the famous tale of the Scholar Gypsy and Glanvill's account of Kenelm Digby's infamous powder of sympathy. These two passages provide useful examples that are consistent with the revisions made to the Tedworth account.

According to *The Vanity*, the Scholar Gypsy was an impoverished man who joined a 'company of Vagabond Gypsies' after his hardships forced him to abandon his studies at Oxford. Years later, at a chance meeting with his former colleagues, the Scholar Gypsy surprised his friends with the claim that the gypsies were not imposters or frauds. He claimed that they have 'a traditional kind of learning among them' and an ability to 'do wonders by the power of Imagination'. He then boasted that he had been learning to master the skill so that he might 'give the world an account of what he had learned' once he had discovered all their secrets.⁷²

The Scholar Gypsy was originally included in *The Vanity* as evidence of occult forces, as the tale represents both an endorsement of the potential power of imagination and a warning about the imagination's ability to deceive and be deceived.⁷³ This interpretation is supported by Isaac Newton's reference to the tale in his report on some visual 'after-image experiments' in which he explored the ability of the mind and imagination to affect the optic nerve.⁷⁴ Glanvill's omission of the tale from the *Scepsis* indicates his willingness to critically evaluate and modify his work to more

effectively reflect the ideals of his peers at the Society, particularly as those ideals related to testimonial evidence. By completely removing this episode Glanvill not only distanced himself from the magical rhetoric associated with the account, but demonstrated his concern for the quality and reliability of testimonial evidence.⁷⁵ However, the decision to omit the Scholar Gypsy from the *Scepsis* stands in contrast to Glanvill's treatment of other problematic elements, including passages in which he praised controversial figures like Descartes and Digby, which were revised or toned down rather than removed completely.⁷⁶

Digby's powder of sympathy was an oriental preparation believed to heal when applied to the weapon that inflicted a wound rather than to the wound itself. Digby claimed to have healed James Howell with the powder after he was injured in a duel. The claim that James I witnessed this healing bolstered the authority of Digby's claims and many, if not all, accepted the case as confirmation of the efficacy of sympathetic cures advocated by Jan Baptiste van Helmont and Robert Fludd.⁷⁷ For Glanvill, Digby's *A Late Discourse . . . Touching the Cure of Wounds by the Powder of Sympathy* (1658) represented a recent, well-attested report written by a founding Fellow of the Society who claimed to have based his conclusions upon personal, experimental observations. On these grounds, the treatise had a level of reliability supported by Digby's status and involvement with the Society. By revising rather than removing the reference to Digby's powder Glanvill implied that the motivating factor behind this revision was something other than a questioning of the existence of such forces.

Glanvill's revised account of Digby's sympathetic powder suggests that caution and a desire to adapt to stricter standards of evidence motivated this change. Digby's powder, which is enthusiastically described in *The Vanity* as a 'matter of fact put out of doubt', is downgraded in the *Scepsis* to a theory suggested 'with circumstances of good evidence'.⁷⁸ Thus, in the *Scepsis*, the efficacy of Digby's powder is no longer presented as a certainty. Instead, it is a possibility supported by reasonable evidence. For while many of Digby's contemporaries were sceptical of both the powder's efficacy and Digby's claim to have introduced it to Europe, the Society as a whole still entertained the possibility of sympathetic cures. Its minutes of 5 June 1661 report:

Magnetical cures being then discoursed of, Sir GILBERT TALBOT promised to communicate what he knew of sympathetical cures; and those members, who had any of the powder of sympathy, were desired to bring some of it at the next meeting.⁷⁹

Robert Boyle, although sceptical, was also prepared to continue investigating the possibility of sympathetic cures and treated himself for nose bleeds with the external application of an herb referred to as 'moss from a dead man's skull'.⁸⁰ These displays of open-minded investigation suggest that Glanvill's revised version of the passage relating to Digby would

have been sufficiently compatible with the attitudes held by the Society at that time.

In contrast, Glanvill had no such grounds for continuing to assert the existence of the Scholar Gypsy, which was only known through 'story' and unverifiable reports.⁸¹ Two possible sources have been suggested for this tale: the life of Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont, who reportedly absconded from the University of Leipzig to study the language and customs of a gypsy tribe; and Thomas Vaughan's *The Fame and Confession of the Fraternity of R: C:* (1652), a translation of two famous Rosicrucian manifestos, the *Fama fraternitatis* (1614) and *Confessio fraternitatis* (1615).⁸² As van Helmont dined with Henry More in London in 1670 and asked More for his assistance in obtaining a copy of the *Lux orientalis*, it seems reasonable to assume that had van Helmont been identified as the true Scholar Gypsy, some corrected account would have appeared, perhaps even in the 1676 Essay, or the Collection of Relations.⁸³ The discovery of the "real" Scholar Gypsy would have transformed the account from unacceptable hearsay, to a report which 'clearly depended on the original experience of a specified person on a particular occasion', potentially giving the account as much credibility as Digby's observations on the sympathetic powder, or indeed the Tedworth episode.⁸⁴ However, in the absence of such a revelation, Glanvill's source lacked the contemporaneous validation and detail required to meet the Society's standards for testimonial evidence. Glanvill excised the tale of the Scholar Gypsy just as he advised preachers to avoid the 'affectations of wit and finery, flourishes, metaphors, and cadencies' which 'may be pardon'd to young men, in their first Essays' but which are 'by no means to be used by an exercised and constant Preacher'.⁸⁵ The different treatments these passages received were inspired by the Society's epistemological values and are consistent with the critical evaluation of both the quality of supporting evidence and the philosophical implications of Glanvill's linguistic style.

This process of self-assessment and revision was implemented to an even greater degree as Glanvill transformed the text of the *Scepsis* into the third version of the work, the essay "Against Confidence in Philosophy, and Matters of Speculation". In the Essay, Glanvill removed more elements of what Oldenburg described in 1667 as his 'florid' writing style.⁸⁶ This process was begun in the *Scepsis*, where Glanvill removed much of the ostentatious paronomasia (puns) and evocative descriptions which Ryan Stark has characterized as representative of 'an occult conception of rhetoric'.⁸⁷ For example, Glanvill begins both *The Vanity* and the *Scepsis* with a biblical analogy of the fall of man, but in the 'more restrained' *Scepsis*, Glanvill removes the mystical overtones brought to the original through his poetic wordplay.⁸⁸ Indeed Medcalf, a literary historian, laments the omission of this masterfully crafted metaphorical opening despite arguing that Glanvill's revised style built on Cartesian linguistic ideals and prefigured the rhetorical reform agenda of Locke 'and all the creators of modern prose'.⁸⁹ In the Essay, Glanvill omits this introduction altogether.

Moving the linguistic style of the Essay even further from ‘an occult conception of rhetoric . . . toward an experimental conception’, Glanvill removes further layers of mystical, alchemical overtones from his prose through syntactical changes.⁹⁰ For example, his ‘aqueous crystal’ becomes ‘ice’⁹¹ and ‘Aethereal Coal’ becomes ‘Sun’.⁹² Medcalf again laments the resulting reduction in the ‘vividness and detail which express the particularity . . . of a thing’ throughout the Essay, using as an example Glanvill’s description of an observational experiment.⁹³ In *The Vanity* and the *Scepsis*, the description reads:

If after a decoction of hearbs in a Winter night, we expose the liquor to the frigid air; we may observe in the morning under a crust of ice, the perfect appearance both in figure and colour, of the Plants that were taken from it . . .⁹⁴

In the Essay, the description of the same activity reads:

. . . after a decoction of Herbs in a frosty Night, the shape of the Plants will appear under the Ice in the Morning . . .⁹⁵

Many would agree that the Essay is a much less evocative presentation of Glanvill’s case for experimental philosophy and may even agree with Medcalf in lamenting the loss of the ‘picturesque’ writing which characterized *The Vanity*’s original composition. However, a move towards the ‘plain, ascetic, unadorned’ style associated with his contemporary correspondent and advisor, Robert Boyle, was more likely Glanvill’s goal.⁹⁶ As will be further discussed in Chapter 7, Glanvill argued that by developing the analytical skills required by experimental philosophy, our minds become more resistant to both melancholy and enthusiasm.⁹⁷ Glanvill’s movement in the 1670s toward a writing style which was more like that of ‘a scientifically rigorous report’, focused on the ‘generality and objectivity’ of his style, would appear to exemplify Glanvill’s attempt to practice what he preached.⁹⁸

Methodological Consistency

When we compare the evolution of style and substance in the versions of the Tedworth relation and *The Vanity of Dogmatizing*, we gain a sense of how Glanvill systematically refined his works during the 1670s.⁹⁹ Indeed Glanvill explains his approach in *A Seasonable Defence of Preaching* (1678): ‘Plainness is one of the best characters of any Sermon, or other Discourse can have; and he is the Speaker that hath the art to be plain’. He goes on to criticize those who ‘generally state their doctrines confusedly, in words metaphorical and ambiguous; and direct to practice mystically, and obscurely in phrases, and odd schemes of speech, not understood and scarce intelligible’.¹⁰⁰ Similarly in his *Essay concerning Preaching* (1678) he advises that plainness is preferred to ‘hard words’, ‘deep and mysterious notions’,

‘affected Rhetorications’ and ‘Phantastical Phrases’.¹⁰¹ Glanvill thus articulates almost exactly what Stark observes when he writes:

The change in Glanvill’s style involves a movement away from an occult conception of rhetoric and toward an experimental conception. By omitting the story of the magician [the Scholar Gypsy] from *Scepsis scientifica*, Glanvill disavows the worlds of mystery and charm.¹⁰²

From this perspective, the Scholar Gypsy account provides an interesting point of comparison to the Tedworth report and Glanvill’s work on witchcraft more broadly. Glanvill revised the Tedworth report, treating it more like the account of Digby’s sympathetic powder than the Scholar Gypsy account. His justification for this was that he believed he could personally verify the happenings at Tedworth. Thus, like Digby’s powder, the happenings at Tedworth were, from Glanvill’s perspective, supported by ‘circumstances of good evidence’.¹⁰³ The magical practices and spirit activity implied in the Tedworth case were not rejected because they were supported by sensory experience and were therefore metaphysically *immanent* and, ultimately, knowable.¹⁰⁴

There are many possible explanations for what happened in Tedworth ranging from as yet unverified supernatural happenings, to misunderstood natural causes, to fraud. We could speculate that there was a fraud perpetrated by Mompesson himself or another member of his household (some of the servants have been suspected).¹⁰⁵ Alternatively, the fraud could have been perpetrated *on* the Mompesson family by someone outside the house. However, given that Glanvill’s belief in the account remains unquestioned by historians, we gain more understanding of Glanvill’s thought by focusing on his motivations and methods for analysing his sources. This can be achieved by understanding how he determined which accounts could be adequately verified, which elements of each story could safely be considered reliable, and which phenomena were inexplicable according to natural philosophical methods. Glanvill’s process of analysis suggests a desire to break through the human tendency to elaborate when repeating stories orally and to overcome the imperfections of human memory. In the case of the Tedworth account, Glanvill’s alterations to the text can be read as a scholar attempting to make sense of multiple written and oral accounts while assessing the testimony provided by others and testing his own memories and experiences. This process of analysis represents a rare level of self-awareness in keeping with the epistemology which Glanvill advocates.

More than this, the revisions which Glanvill made to both the Tedworth account and the three versions of *The Vanity* were also in keeping with the Society’s agenda. The influence of Robert Boyle on Glanvill’s later revision of the Tedworth account has been outlined above. However, Glanvill’s

changes to *The Vanity* all predate this 1676–1677 exchange. Calls for the kind of linguistic reforms seen in Glanvill's works and Boyle's style began gaining currency during the 1650s among men such as John Wilkins, who would later become a Fellow of the Royal Society. Glanvill's stylistic revisions also reflected the stipulated aims of 'the committee for the improving of the English language', which the Society established on 7 December 1664, that is, at the same meeting at which Glanvill was accepted as a member. In cooperation with John Wilkins, this committee was charged 'chiefly to improve the philosophy of the language', and many of the likely fruits of their labour are evident in Wilkins' 1668 publication *An Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language*.¹⁰⁶ This Society's rhetorical goal is also reaffirmed later in Sprat's *History*, when he commends the Fellows' practice of rejecting 'all the amplifications, digressions, and swellings of style' and their 'return back to the primitive purity, and shortness'. This included exacting 'from all their members, a close, naked, natural way of speaking; positive expressions; clear senses; a native easiness', which brings 'all things as near the Mathematical plainness, as they can: and preferring the language of Artizans, Countrymen, and Merchants, before that of Wits, or Scholars'.¹⁰⁷

Although chiefly rhetorical in application, the revisions to Glanvill's works demonstrate how this "philosophical language" or "experimental rhetoric" changed the nature of the information presented and influenced the conclusions the reader drew from the text. Reflecting the ideals of objective observation, the "philosophical language" ostensibly offered the reader some protection from the author's agenda, presenting factual evidence (as opposed to hearsay) in a cleaner form more suited to independent analysis. This difference is demonstrated in both the 1681 version of the Tedworth account and the 1676 Essay "Against Confidence in Philosophy", where more precise accounts of phenomena, investigative measures, witnesses and texts allow the reader to access information without being overwhelmed by the emotional responses of the author or the original witnesses.¹⁰⁸ The rapidly changing rhetorical standard does, however, help explain the comments on Glanvill's writing style found amongst the correspondence of members of the Royal Society and Glanvill's desire to change his style, as will be encountered in the next chapter. Furthermore, the close connection between Glanvill's philosophical method, his linguistic reforms, and his concerns about Sadducism are further strengthened when considering Glanvill's role in defending both empirical philosophy and the Royal Society from the charges of atheism levelled by vocal opponents such as Thomas White, Robert South and Henry Stubbe, as will be discussed in Chapter 6. Glanvill's concern about fighting atheism was as much about protecting the Society as it was theologically motivated by his ministerial position and any desire he might have had to assert the moral authority of the Anglican Church.

Notes

1. Henry, "More versus Boyle," 57; Hall, *More and the Scientific*, 125, 143.
2. Stark bases his analysis on a comparison of two of these texts, *The Vanity* and the *Scepsis*. Stark, *Rhetoric, Science & Magic*, esp. 29–46, 51–53.
3. Carrithers, *Glanvill and Pyrrhonic Skepticism*, 12.
4. Stark, *Rhetoric, Science & Magic*, 32.
5. Burns, *Great Debate*; Medcalf, "Introduction"; Sascha Talmor, *Glanvill: The Uses and Abuses of Scepticism*. Cf. Popkin, "Precursor of Hume"; Richard H. Popkin, Richard A. Watson, and James E. Force, *The High Road to Pyrrhonism* (San Diego, CA: Austin Hill Press, 1980); Popkin, "Philosophical Reputation"; Richard H. Popkin, *The Third Force in Seventeenth-Century Thought* (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1992); Wiley, *Subtle Knot*, 197ff.
6. Prior, "Glanvill," 167–193; Cope, "Anglican Apologist," 1954, 87–103; Easlea, *Witch-Hunting, Magic*, 201–206; Waller, *Leaps*, 15–30.
7. See especially: Edelen, "Glanvill, More and Tedworth," 186–192; Hunter, "New Light," 211–353.
8. Although Tidworth is now the standardized spelling for the town, Tedworth was an alternate seventeenth-century spelling and it has become the most common version used in relation to these events. Hunter, "New Light," 311.
9. British Library, Additional MS. 19253 fol.201v, cited in Philip Stanhope, *Letters of Philip, Second Earl of Chesterfield* (London, 1829), 24–25. Cf. Hunter, "New Light," 330.
10. BMS68_WingG799_91 and BMS68_WingG800_117.
11. ST81_WingG822_sig.Aa4r(3).
12. ST81_WingG822_89(3).
13. Notestein, *History of Witchcraft*, 275. Cf. Hunter, "New Light"; Edelen, "Glanvill, More and Tedworth."
14. Increase Mather, *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences Wherein an Account Is Given of Many Remarkable and Very Memorable Events Which Have Hapned This Last Age, Especially in New-England* (Boston, 1684), 156–158, 240–241; George Sinclair, *Satan's Invisible World Discovered, or, A Choice Collection of Modern Relations Proving Evidently against the Saducees and Atheists of this Present Age, That There Are Devils, Spirits, Witches, and Apparitions, from Authentick Records, Attestations of Famous Witnesses and Undoubted Verity* (Edinburgh, 1685), Relation X. Cf. Chapter 8.
15. "Den duyvel van Tedworth, ofte een historie van spookery" in Koelman, *Wederlegging van B. Bekkers*, 1(2); ST01_3–32(2). See Table 2 for details.
16. A similar play appeared in French in 1762: Philippe Néricault-Destouches, *Le tambour nocturne* (Paris, 1733).
17. Anon, *The Drummer of Tedworth: Containing, the Whole Story of That Dæmon, on Which Is Founded, the New Comedy of the Drummer: Or, The Haunted House . . . to Which Is Added, a Large Relation of the Marlborough-Ghost* (London, 1716). Roberts was not the only one to continue to believe in Glanvill's Tedworth account. Bernd Krysmanski, "We See a Ghost: Hogarth's Satire on Methodists and Connoisseurs," *The Art Bulletin* 80.2 (1998): 296–297.
18. Ronald Paulson, ed., *Hogarth's Graphic Works* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 248; Krysmanski, "We See a Ghost," 297.
19. For an extensive account of nineteenth-century reproductions of the Tedworth case see: Hunter, "New Light," 313–314. On Glanvill as a precursor to the Society for Psychical Research see: Redgrove, *Glanvill*, 93–94.
20. For reasons outlined below and in Chapter 8, we can, with reasonable confidence, assume that Glanvill was largely responsible for the revisions made to the Tedworth case in the 1681 version.

21. *Drummer of Tedworth Account*, National Archives, Kew, Public Record Office, SP 29/230, no.177.
22. Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS. 318, fol.160–164. See: Mompesson-Creed_6/12/[1662]_339–342; Mompesson-Creed_26/12/1662_344–345; Mompesson-Creed_4/1/1663_346–348; T.Mompesson-J.Mompesson_11/12/1662_343.
23. Only one of these letters, Mompesson-Creed_6/12/[1662]_339–342, was widely known prior to Hunter's article.
24. Glanvill-More_13/11/[1663]_fol.1. Cf. Hunter, "New Light," 317.
25. Mompesson-Creed_6/12/[1662]_340–341; BMS68_WingG800_124; ST81_WingG822_93–94(3).
26. More-Conway_31/3/[1663]_215–217.
27. Mompesson-Creed_6/12/[1662]_340.
28. BMS68_WingG800_123.
29. See Chapter 3.
30. ST81_WingG822_93(3).
31. Mompesson-Creed_6/12/[1662]_340.
32. BMS68_WingG800_122; ST81_WingG822_92(3).
33. T.Mompesson-J.Mompesson_11/12/1662_343.
34. Glanvill is reporting the opinion of an unnamed physician, namely that the happenings were the result of 'nothing but a *Rendezvous of Witches*' and 'for a hundred pounds he would undertake to clear the house from all disturbance.' BMS68_WingG800_15, 137; ST81_WingG822_109(3).
35. ST81_WingG822_109(3).
36. BMS68_WingG800_129; ST81_WingG822_87(3).
37. Mompesson-Creed_4/1/1663_346.
38. Hunter, "New Light," 323.
39. ST81_WingG822_107–108(3). The version in the *Blow* varies slightly with the phrasing 'Mr. Mompesson told me, that afterwards'. This version therefore creates ambiguity about whether Glanvill is here drawing on conversations with Mompesson or relying on additional written accounts. Regardless, we know from his investigations that Glanvill met with Mompesson personally. However, this clarification does confirm that there were alternative letters, written directly to Glanvill, which are perhaps more likely sources for Glanvill's additional information than the third letter to Creed. BMS68_WingG799_115; BMS68_WingG800_136.
40. Glanvill mentions two distinct visits to Tedworth. Glanvill-More_13/11/[1663]_fol.1–2.
41. BMS68_WingG800_132–134; ST81_WingG822_100–105(3).
42. ST81_WingG822_103(3).
43. ST81_WingG822_101; 'I thrust in my hand to the place where the noise seemed to be'. BMS68_WingG800_133.
44. First version BMS68_WingG800_134. Second version ST81_WingG822_103(3).
45. Hunter, "New Light," 337.
46. ST81_WingG822_103(3).
47. Hunter, "New Light," 333–335. Cf. ST81_WingG822_sig.Aa3r(3).
48. Cf. Boyle-Glanvill_18/9/1677_4:455 and n.45.
49. ST81_WingG822_sig.Aa4v-Aa5r(3).
50. Boyle-Glanvill_18/9/1677_4:455–457; Glanvill-Boyle_7/10/[1677]_4:460–461; Glanvill-Boyle_2/11/[1677]_4:467–468; Glanvill-Boyle_25/1/[1678]_5:15–16; Boyle-Glanvill_10/2/1678_5:20–21; Glanvill-Boyle_24/2/[1678]_5:37–38.
51. Boyle-Glanvill_18/9/1677_4:455–456.
52. Glanvill-Boyle_25/1/[1678]_5:15. Boyle denied there was any truth to this claim in his reply. Boyle-Glanvill_10/2/1678_5:20–21.
53. Hunter, "New Light," 335.

54. Boyle-Glanvill_18/9/1677_4:455–456.
55. Mompesson-Creed_6/12/[1662]_339–341. Hunter, “New Light,” 319–320, 349, 351.
56. ST81_WingG822_102–103.
57. ST81_WingG822_sig.Aa4v-Aa5r(3).
58. For a general discussion of these trends as they relate to several of Glanvill’s works, but not the Tedworth case directly, see: Stark, *Rhetoric, Science & Magic*, 29–40.
59. ST81_WingG822_sig.Aa4v-Aa6r(3); Hunter, “New Light,” 334–335.
60. British Library, MS Add. 19253 fol.201v, as printed in Stanhope, *Letters*, 24–5. Cf. Hunter, “New Light,” 329–330.
61. Baxter-Glanvill_18/11/1670_2:fol.138.
62. ST81_WingG822_sig.Aa5v-Aa6r(3).
63. Hunter, “New Light.”
64. On the Fellows’ support of Glanvill’s view of Sadducism see: Stark, *Rhetoric, Science & Magic*, 29–30.
65. More-Conway_31/3/[1663]_215–217.
66. BMS68_WingG800_117, 136.
67. Glanvill-More_13/11/[1663]_fol.1–2; Glanvill-Baxter_21/1/[1663]_5:fol.177–178.
68. Glanvill did initially delay publication of the Tedworth case at Mompesson’s request. Mompesson wanted to wait until the disturbance had passed before the events were published. However, as the latest recorded events occurred in 1663, this would not have impacted directly on the 1666 or 1667 editions of the Letter. Glanvill-Baxter_21/1/[1663]_5:fol.177r.
69. Penman, “*Omnium exposita rapinæ*,” esp. 17–22. Cf. Chapter 1.
70. BMS68_WingG800_117.
71. Medcalf, “Introduction,” xiii, xix–xxi.
72. VOD61_WingG834_196–198.
73. Kazuhiko Funakawa, “The Metamorphoses of the Scholar-Gipsy,” *Essays in Criticism* 55.2 (2005): 120–121; David Moldstad, “The Imagination in ‘The Vanity of Dogmatizing’ and ‘The Scholar-Gipsy’: Arnold’s Reversal of Glanvill,” *Victorian Poetry* 25.2 (1987): 162, 164.
74. The reference and report are recorded in a commonplace book he began keeping c.1665. Isaac Newton, “‘Quæstiones Quædam Philosophiæ’ (‘Certain Philosophical Questions’) [MS Add. 3996],” Cambridge University Library, U.K., MS Add. 3996, online ed. October 2003, The Newton Project, www.newtonproject.sussex.ac.uk/view/texts/normalized/THEM00092. Cf. Martin Tamny, “Newton, Creation, and Perception,” *Isis* 70.1 (1979): 51–52.
75. On the ontological implications of Glanvill’s removal of the Scholar Gypsy see: Stark, *Rhetoric, Science & Magic*, 32–40.
76. For detailed examples, see below. For a summary discussion as it relates to ‘Adam’s prelapsarian state’ see: Stark, *Rhetoric, Science & Magic*, 35–38.
77. Kenelm Digby, *A Late Discourse . . . Touching the Cure of Wounds by the Powder of Sympathy* (London, 1658), 9–10; Elizabeth Hedrick, “Romancing the Salve: Sir Kenelm Digby and the Powder of Sympathy,” *The British Journal for the History of Science* 41.2 (2008): 161.
78. VOD61_WingG834_207; SS65_WingG827_125.
79. Digby gave a presentation at this same meeting and therefore would likely have witnessed this discussion. Hedrick, “Romancing the Salve,” 171–172; Birch, *History*, 1:24–25.
80. Gordon Keith Chalmers, “Effluvia, the History of a Metaphor,” *PMLA* 52.4 (1937): 1048. Cf. Robert Boyle, “Experiments and Considerations about the Porosity of Bodies (1684)” in *Boyle Works*, 10:117–118.

81. VOD61_WingG834_195–196.
82. On van Helmont see: Medcalf, “Introduction,” xiv. On Vaughan see: Stark, *Rhetoric, Science & Magic*, 34.
83. More-Conway_13/10/1670_322–324.
84. On the Society’s treatment of hearsay evidence see: Peter Dear, “*Totius in verba*: Rhetoric and Authority in the Early Royal Society,” *Isis* 76.2 (1985): 152–153.
85. ECP78_WingG808_23–24.
86. Oldenburg-Boyle_1/10/1667_3:503. The adjective “florid” was more commonly associated with metaphysical poetry and sermons and is usually interpreted as uncomplimentary in the natural philosophical context. Medcalf, “Introduction,” xxii. Cf. Birch, *History*, 2:197.
87. Stark, *Rhetoric, Science & Magic*, 38–39.
88. VOD61_WingG834_11; SS65_WingG827_4. Glanvill was not alone in introducing his treatise on the state of knowledge with this analogy. Both Browne’s *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, or *Vulgar Errors* and Burton’s *Anatomy of Melancholy* begin in a very similar fashion. Medcalf, “Introduction,” xxxvi–xxxviii. Cf. Stark, *Rhetoric, Science & Magic*, 35–36.
89. ‘Here and throughout a forcible kind of poetry becomes a piece of [linguistically] weak prose logic.’ Medcalf, “Introduction,” xxviii–xxxvii, esp. xxxiii Cf. SS65_WingG827_4.
90. Stark, *Rhetoric, Science & Magic*, 39.
91. VOD61_WingG834_47; SS65_WingG827_35. Revised at: Essays76_WingG809_I:11.
92. VOD61_WingG834_78; SS65_WingG827_59. Revised at: Essays76_WingG809_I:20.
93. Quotations in this paragraph are, unless otherwise stated, from Medcalf, “Introduction,” xli–xlii. The account of this experiment was published independently as: Joseph Glanvill, *The Flower beneath the Ice: An Experiment Recorded by Joseph Glanvill*, ed. R. B. Mason (Hitchin: The Dodman Press, 1979).
94. VOD61_WingG834_46–47; SS65_WingG827_35.
95. Essays76_WingG809_I:11.
96. Shapin and Schaffer, *Leviathan*, 66.
97. Cf. Davies, “Preaching Science,” 381–383.
98. Medcalf, “Introduction,” xli–xlii. Cf. Chapters 5, 6 and 8.
99. Six of the seven essays in this 1676 collection were consciously revised versions of previously published works. The seventh essay, “The Antifanatick Theologie, and Free Philosophy”, is based on Glanvill’s manuscript known as *Bensalem*. It is a utopian continuation of Bacon’s *New Atlantis*. The University of Chicago, Joseph Regenstein Library, MS.913. For Glanvill’s explanation of the revisions see: Essays76_WingG809_sig a2v-a3v.
100. SDP78_WingG829_41.
101. ECP78_WingG808_12.
102. Stark does not reference Glanvill’s 1678 essay on preaching. Stark, *Rhetoric, Science & Magic*, 39.
103. SS65_WingG827_151.
104. The drummer, William Drury, reportedly claimed responsibility for the disturbance at Tedworth while in prison in Gloucester for theft. Mompesson-Collins_8/8/1674_sig.Aa7v-Aa8r.
105. Hunter, “New Light,” 322–329. Cf. John Beaumont, *An Historical, Physiological and Theological Treatise of Spirits, Apparitions, Witchcrafts, and Other Magical Practices* (London, 1705), 309.
106. John Wilkins, *An Essay towards a Real Character, and a Philosophical Language* (London, 1668); Medcalf, “Introduction,” xxvi–xxvii. Cf. Birch, *History*, 1:499, 2:7.

107. Sprat, *History*, 113.

108. Medcalf notes a contradiction in these linguistic ideals and the Society's acceptance of the *Scepsis*, which clearly does not meet them. However, given the timing of that acceptance, and the formation of the committee for linguistic reform, both of which occurred in 1664, before the publication of Sprat's *History*, this point seems moot. Medcalf, "Introduction," xxvii.

6 Defending the High Ground

Glanvill and the Royal Society

It is now evident that the experimental philosophy advocated by the Royal Society underpinned four of Glanvill's key works, the Letter of Witchcraft, both surviving accounts of the Drummer of Tedworth, the three versions of *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* and the *Lux orientalis*. In analysing these texts, the importance of Glanvill's relationships with several Fellows of the Royal Society, especially Robert Boyle and Henry More, is very apparent. We have seen how Glanvill was influenced and supported by these figures and how his use of the epistemological method of the Society gave his work its own distinct character. This chapter explores Glanvill's relationship and involvement with the Royal Society as an institution more directly. Through an analysis of Glanvill's *Plus ultra* (1668) and the heated dispute with Henry Stubbe which followed its publication, this chapter scrutinizes Glanvill's role as an advocate for the Society's experimental method. By examining his successes, challenges and failures in this way, we can begin to develop an understanding of the potential Glanvill's contemporaries saw in his work and his philosophical influence and reception.

Glanvill's relationship with the Society officially began when its president, William Brereton, presented the *Scepsis scientifica* to the Fellows and nominated Glanvill for membership in 1664. That Glanvill's nomination was accepted the following week has been considered a strong endorsement of that work, an interpretation supported by Oldenburg's account of events.¹ When writing to Boyle about the presentation of the *Scepsis*, Oldenburg claims that many were pleased to see the Society's methods 'so well understood' and treated with such 'a very great respect' in an external work.² This resounding endorsement suggests that Glanvill's revisions to *The Vanity of Dogmatizing*, as discussed in Chapter 5, had effectively tempered his youthful enthusiasm.

Despite some Fellows' reservations about his somewhat 'florid' writing style,³ Glanvill carried this success through to the *Plus ultra* (1668). Presented to the Society on 18 June 1668, this work is similar to the *Scepsis* in several ways.⁴ Like the *Scepsis* the *Plus ultra* enumerates the advantages of the experimental method and the benefits of greater knowledge of the natural world. However, the *Plus ultra* is less concerned with the details of the

new methods of investigation, emphasizing instead the contributions and breakthroughs the Fellows have made using the experimental method. The *Plus ultra* emphasizes the Society's leadership in the dissemination, verification, advancement and practical application of scientific discoveries made across Europe. Glanvill supports this portrayal by providing examples where members of other European societies chose to publish their ground-breaking discoveries in the Society's *Philosophical Transactions*. He recounts, for example, how Dr Fabritius of Danzig sent Oldenburg accounts of his experiments administering medical treatments via intravenous injection, which were then first published in the *Transactions*.⁵ Glanvill also emphasizes the practical value, or usefulness, of the discoveries and improvements made by the Fellows, highlighting how the Society's work had benefited both medicine and industry.⁶

Glanvill necessarily acknowledged that there had been some conflict surrounding the Society, conceding that disputes had arisen over the attribution of particular discoveries, such as the medicinal uses of blood transfusion and injections. However, while Henry Stubbe condemned the Society for making such claims, Glanvill, unsurprisingly, minimised or absolved the Society of any wrongdoing. Thus Glanvill suggests that although the French were first to experiment with transfusions involving humans, as reported by 'Monsieur Dennis', he claims it was the Fellows who refined the technique and first used the procedure with 'fair and encouraging success'. Similarly Glanvill argues that while Boyle did not invent the barometer or air-pump, thus proving the possibility of a 'Vacuum in Nature', he did refine the device and discover several practical applications which led to the 'first great benefit we have from it'.⁷

The *Plus ultra* continued to fuel the controversy which surrounded the Society because of the challenge its methods posed to the authority of the Aristotelian scholastics, as discussed in relation to Thomas White's criticism of *The Vanity*.⁸ Robert South and Robert Crosse were two vocal critics of the Society who were incensed by the publication of Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* (1667) and Glanvill's *Plus ultra*.⁹ Glanvill was predictably critical of the Aristotelian method throughout the work, at times falling into his melodramatic style when discussing it. For example, Glanvill identifies geometry as one of three mathematical disciplines 'absolutely necessary to solid and real Philosophy'.¹⁰ He then emphasizes Aristotle's aversion to geometry and the way his followers 'dehorted their Disciples from it', using this as one of many examples of how 'science' was impeded by the 'Tyranny [founded] by the Man of STAGYRA'.¹¹ Such characterizations place the *Plus ultra* on a linguistic par with the *Scepsis*, in regard to its inconsistent use of plain and objective language. Indeed, as with the *Scepsis*, the *Plus ultra* is later revised to appear in the 1676 collection *Essays on Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion*, where it is included as essay number 3, "Modern Improvements of Useful Knowledge".¹² Not quite all of Glanvill's characteristic flair is edited out of this second version of the *Plus ultra*. For example, Aristotle remains a founder of tyranny and the Society continues to refine current knowledge 'from its dross'.¹³ This supports

the claim that Glanvill's revisions especially targeted rhetorical elements with certain figurative or magical qualities, as previously discussed.¹⁴ Furthermore, much of the personal tone and emotive language was removed from this version, as were many provocative passages directed against Glanvill's primary antagonist, Robert Crosse.¹⁵ However, even in its original edition, the *Plus ultra* was generally quite restrained, with most of Glanvill's impassioned argumentation limited to the Preface and the chapter on dioptrics, which will be discussed in more detail below.

The *Plus ultra* has been characterized as an exemplar of the progressivist works designed 'to extol modern learning at the expense of the old'. This characterization is true in a limited sense. Glanvill does contrast 'the rapid modern improvements and advances in chemistry, anatomy, mathematics, astronomy, optics and geography' with 'the old useless notional disputes' of the Aristotelians in what can be perceived as a 'conceited' fashion.¹⁶ However, Glanvill's disdain for scholastics and contemporary Aristotelians is balanced by his respect for other ancient natural philosophers. Thus it is difficult to maintain a characterization of Glanvill as simply an early progressivist.

Glanvill discusses many ancient philosophers throughout the work, Plato only one among them, acknowledging the importance of their contributions, especially when they opposed predominant Aristotelian beliefs. Glanvill was not concerned about the *antiquity* of the 'Notional way' of the Aristotelians, but about the limited practicality of a philosophy that he believed prioritized the preservation of authority over the betterment of knowledge.¹⁷ Aristotelianism, in Glanvill's summation, was detrimental to the state of human knowledge, dismissing practical theories in order to preserve Aristotle's authority rather than building on and adapting systems of natural philosophy as necessitated by continued, improved and new observations of natural phenomena. In this, the *Plus ultra* is heavily influenced, as its title suggests, by Francis Bacon's ideal of 'practical' or 'useful' knowledge, that is, knowledge that is a 'help to common Life' and actively improves its quality.¹⁸

We can see this attitude to Aristotelianism clearly in Glanvill's account of the state of geometry. Glanvill praises many ancients, including Plato, Euclid, and Apollonius Pergaeus, as great contributors to this so 'fundamentally useful a Science'. He also gives immense credit to Archimedes of Syracuse who, over a thousand years before Bacon,

carried Geometry from general and idle Speculation, to the use and benefit of Mankind; whereas before him it was an ancient and perverse Opinion, That this Knowledge ought not to be brought down to vulgar Service, but kept up in abstractive Contemplations.

Glanvill here acknowledges that the ancients, although limited in various ways, provided important foundations and precedents for the practices adopted by seventeenth-century experimental philosophers. Indeed, according to Glanvill this is the general opinion of the Fellows who

are very ready to do right to the Learned Ancients, by acknowledging their Wit, and all the useful Theories and helps we have from them: but they are not willing that those, however venerable Sages, should have an absolute Empire over the Reasons of Mankind Nor do they think, That all the Riches of Nature were discovered to some few particular Men of former Times; and that there is nothing left for the benefit and gratification of after-Inquirers.

Glanvill affords respect to the ancient philosophers and diverts blame from many marginalized ancient thinkers by acknowledging the limitations of their cultural context. He does label as ‘fond superstitions’ the beliefs that prevented the ancients from engaging in dissections and thus developing a more accurate understanding of, for example, anatomy. However, he also acknowledges the powerful influence of several authorities who reinforced beliefs such as this, limiting methodologies to the detriment of science. He noted the Church Father Tertullian’s objection to human dissection, and how Pope Boniface VIII threatened physicians who engaged in the practice with excommunication. Thus, although Glanvill is critical of Galen when he points out that there is no indication that he ever ‘made any Anatomy of humane Bodies’, he also excuses such shortcomings because of his cultural context. Glanvill acknowledges that physicians needed to overcome significant barriers to establish the validity and value of such observational practices. This liberation is the true achievement that Glanvill attributes to the “moderns”. ‘Now in these later Ages’, Glanvill writes, anatomy is ‘a free and general Practice; and particularly in this it hath received wonderful Improvements’. Moreover, he notes that several of the practitioners leading these developments were ‘Ingenious Members of the ROYAL SOCIETY’.¹⁹

In presenting its account of the state of modern knowledge in this way, the *Plus ultra* was more focused than the *Scepsis* on the pursuits which would soon become characteristic of the conventional sciences. There are no sympathetic powders or discussions of the nature of the soul in this work, only the reiteration that the microscope will one day assist us to see the ‘otherwise invisible Schematisms and Structures of Bodies, . . . [and] disclose the variety of living Creatures that are shut up from our bare Senses’.²⁰ Hence, although Glanvill’s language in the *Plus ultra* is only slightly more refined and objective than in the *Scepsis*, the arguments and subject matter of the *Plus ultra* distinctly reflect Glanvill’s revision agenda.

Shaping the *Plus ultra*

The *Plus ultra* was designed to supplement Sprat’s famed *History of the Royal Society* (1667) by outlining the Society’s most important achievements. Despite Beale’s prediction that no man was more equipped to ‘better chastise’ the Society’s critics than Sprat,²¹ several notable Fellows, including Henry Oldenburg, perceived certain weaknesses in Sprat’s *History*. Despite

describing the *History* as 'fully evincing', 'modest and elegant' in the *Philosophical Transactions*,²² Oldenburg confessed to Boyle in 1664 that he was concerned if there was 'enough said in it [Sprat's *History*] of particulars, or, to speake more truly, whether there are performances enough, for a Royal Society, that hath been at work so considerable a time'.²³ Regardless of whether Sprat had failed to report in enough detail or whether the Society had not provided him with enough material to report on at that time, Glanvill's supplement to Sprat's *History* was evidently penned with the encouragement of Oldenburg and other Fellows. Thus in a letter dated 1 October 1667 Oldenburg informs Boyle:

There is a certain gentleman, a florid writer, one of our royal collegiats [Glanvill], who intends to print shortly some Paralipomena, relating to the History of our Society; wherein he means to take more notice of the performance of some Eminent members thereof, than hath been done by M[r]. Sprat, and farther to recommend and indicate the modern Experimentall Philosophers, by representing the advantages of this way of Tryals, both for Light and Use, above that of former times. It had been extant, I find by his letter, ere this, but that he stayed for M[r]. Sprat, to see what room he would leave for his thoughts; and finding now, that he hath not throughout prevented him, he seems resolved to pursue his deesein [. . .] and therein to acknowledge some grand Contributions to Philosophy, that have been omitted by the other. This is but Just, and hath therefore received encouragements from me, together w[i]th the suggestion of some particulars, w[hi]ch this Author could not be acquainted w[i]th so well as the suggestor.

Oldenburg also reported that Glanvill delayed the publication of his *Plus ultra* so as not to detract from Sprat's achievement.²⁴ Indeed, Glanvill has nothing but praise for Sprat's *History* throughout the *Plus ultra*, seemingly contradicting this perception of weakness in that work. However, while he introduces it with the statement that the *History* 'hath given us Instances sufficient of their Experiments, Observations and Instruments', just two pages later he states that it is appropriate to provide further evidence against 'the Reproach of having done nothing, as 'tis applied to the Royal Society', and continues on with an account of the works (both published and unpublished) of Robert Boyle. In this, he is evidently following the suggestions of Oldenburg in the above letter.²⁵

Oldenburg was not the only member of the Society consulted before the publication of the *Plus ultra*. John Beale, whose correspondence has been used to support the view that Glanvill was detrimental to the Society's reputation, was also involved in the production of the *Plus ultra*.²⁶ Beale did have reservations about specific passages, particularly the section on algebra, which he believed would be 'wanting of many considerable emendations for a 2^d impression'.²⁷ However, he supported the endeavour enough to read at

least one draft of the *Plus ultra*: in a letter to Oldenburg he observes that the 'Conduct' of the published version was considerably altered from the draft he read. He also informed Oldenburg that the final version ameliorated his previously expressed 'resentment' toward the work.²⁸ Although the letter in which Beale expresses his reactions to the earlier draft of the *Plus ultra* is now lost, his alternative letter to John Evelyn from April or May 1667 provides a sense of Beale's reaction. He warns Evelyn that 'Mr. Glanvill threatens voluminous replies, by soft and frequent lines and wild rubbish'. Beale then continues, describing his relief that he was able to divert Glanvill 'to a better argu^{mt}, as to defend y^e . . . blessed Inventions'.²⁹ Beale maintains this revised opinion when he writes to Oldenburg in June/July 1668, characterizing the work as 'elegant & pleasant', and suggesting he has revised his opinion of the work.³⁰ Furthermore, on 11 July 1668 Beale writes to Oldenburg again regarding the Society's detractors, and includes Glanvill's *Plus ultra* alongside Sprat's *History* and Samuel Woodford's *A Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David* (1667)³¹ as one of three works by 'greate wits' who may refute 'y^e greate Boufffoones' that were criticizing the Society and its work.³²

The *Plus ultra* also seems to have been well received by friends of the Society. Oldenburg presented a copy to the meeting of 18 June 1668³³ and also printed a laudatory review in the *Philosophical Transactions*, describing Glanvill as 'learned and ingenious' and the work as:

a genuine and polite account of the Reason, nature and designs of that Establishment [the Royal Society], for the information of such, as have not yet met with their Excellent History.³⁴

Upon receiving a copy of the work, John Evelyn, untainted by Beale's earlier railing, wrote to Glanvill, describing the work as a 'worthy vindication both of yourself and all useful learning, against the science (falsely so called) of your snarling adversary' and evidence of Glanvill's 'most obliging nature, of which the comely and philosophic frame is abundantly conspicuous'. In the same letter Evelyn goes on to describe the *Plus ultra* as of such significance and effectiveness that:

I do not conceive why the Royal Society should any more concern themselves for the empty and malicious cavils of these delators, after what you have said; but let the moon-dogs bark on, till their throats are dry: the Society every day emerges, and her good genius will raise up one or other to judge and defend her; whilst there is nothing which does more confirm me in the nobleness of the design, than this spirit of contradiction which the devil (who hates all discoveries of those false and prestigious ways that have hitherto obtained) does incite to stir up men against it. But, sir, you have discoursed this so fully in this excellent piece of yours, that I have no more to add, but the suffrage and subscription of [it].³⁵

Given the purpose of the *Plus ultra*, and the apparent fanfare that surrounded it, it seems noteworthy that it was printed with an ecclesiastical imprimatur, rather than with the Society's imprimatur. The inclusion of the weighty imprimatur of the Archbishop of Canterbury reflects Glanvill's effective advocacy in influential, external circles. Indeed, this may well have been the intention. Sprat's *History* did not go to print with the Society's imprimatur either. On the evidence of several Council meetings in May 1665, Margaret Purver has suggested that the Society was considering printing Sprat's *History* with its imprimatur, but that 'in the face of the considerable hostility towards the Society on academic and religious grounds, it was considered prudent to seek an imprimatur outside its own walls'.³⁶ Ultimately, the *History* was published bearing the Society's coat of arms and with the imprimatur of the Secretary of State, Sir William Morrice. Thus, the fact that the *Plus ultra* went to print not with the imprimatur of the Royal Society, but with that of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Gilbert Sheldon, gives the impression that the Society's work was endorsed by the Church. As the Archbishop of Canterbury was also a Fellow, the imprimatur also reflects a certain level of support from within the Royal Society itself.

This prudent ecclesiastical imprimatur is also consistent with Glanvill's intention to address and win over those 'pious men [who] are afraid of an Institution they have heard but imperfectly of, and are jealous of what they have not had opportunities to understand'.³⁷ Ecclesiastical validation was important, given the nature of the allegations being made against the Society. Some allegations went well beyond accusations of atheism. Robert South (1634–1716), a divine and Public Orator at the University of Oxford, published a sermon in which he referred to the Royal Society as 'a kind of diabolical society, for the finding out new experiments in vice . . . scorning to keep themselves within the common, beaten, broad way to hell'.³⁸ Glanvill evidently brought this sermon to Beale's attention shortly after it was delivered at Westminster in 1667.³⁹ Glanvill also reported that Stubbe had publicly accused the Society of being 'a Committee of Projectors to bring in Popery', assuring his audience that their 'first Design was laid by a Jesuite'.⁴⁰ This accusation is central to both Stubbe's *Campanella Revived* (1670) and *A Censure upon Certain Passages Contained in the History of the Royal Society* (1670).

The independent status of the *Plus ultra* lent it an additional credibility that Sprat's *History* lacked, as can be seen in Henry Stubbe's reactions to those two works. Stubbe turned the inclusion of the Society's coat of arms and the fact that Sprat's book was printed by the Society's official printers, Martyn and Allestry, to his advantage. He used these circumstances to attack the validity of the *History*, claiming that it could not be trusted, for 'the R.S. did own it', as anyone who was 'in London at its publication' knows.⁴¹ In contrast, while still critical of the *Plus ultra*, Stubbe did not target the inherent impartiality of the work.⁴²

Stubbe's challenge encourages us to rethink the significance of certain other imprimaturs, such as that given to the *Scepsis* by Thomas Grigg, as

the Bishop of London's chaplain, and that provided for Webster's *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* by the Royal Society itself. It is evident that we cannot rely on the presence or absence of a Royal Society imprimatur in this period to accurately gauge the Society's level of support for a work, and that we need to look beyond the "official" records to penetrate the political façade.⁴³ This is especially true when attempting to understand the relationship between the Society and its members, and the influence of the ideal of "advancing knowledge" on the religiosity and attitudes of those who continued to believe in the existence of witchcraft and spirits.

The ongoing defence of the ideal 'Practical, Useful Learning' espoused by the Royal Society was clearly Glanvill's primary objective in the *Plus ultra*.⁴⁴ The carefully nuanced argument and the extensive referencing of the *Philosophical Transactions* ensured the work fulfilled its purpose of drawing attention to the Fellows' achievements and demonstrating the advantages gained through continued support of the Society. Glanvill's emphasis on the useful, practical and beneficial contributions made by the Fellows created a positive connection between the Society's products and devices, some of which, such as fireworks and gunpowder, were otherwise often associated with Catholicism or atheism and political subversion. Paid commissions such as the staging of firework displays were an important source of revenue and essential to the survival of the Society, but they had been culturally problematic since the Guy Fawkes Gunpowder Plot of 1605.⁴⁵

Glanvill and Robert Crosse

The *Plus ultra* also provides evidence about one of the Society's most ardent critics, Robert Crosse, with whom Glanvill engaged, both in person and in print. Crosse was a Puritan divine who left Lincoln College, Oxford to accept the lucrative vicarage of Chew-Magna, only a short distance from Bath, in 1652.⁴⁶ Like Glanvill's earlier critic, Thomas White, Crosse was a defender of Aristotle. Moreover, by Glanvill's account, Crosse was of the opinion that the Society had designs against the Anglican Church, Scripture, universities and the 'adored Aristotle'.⁴⁷ Tempers flared after Glanvill and Crosse were brought together in a Somerset coffee-house, where they engaged in a raucous public dispute that was then immortalized in a composition for the Royal Society Ballad Singers.⁴⁸ During the argument, Crosse reportedly accused the Royal Society of popery and Glanvill of being an atheistic 'Enemy to the Scriptures'.⁴⁹ The Ballad penned in 1668 reflects the impact of the dispute in its closing observation that 'these two philosophic elves, like bloody Ghiblins and Guelfs, divided hath half our shire'.⁵⁰

Not only did this event feature prominently in Glanvill's publications between 1668 and 1671, but the conflicted environment the Ballad reflects apparently threatened Glanvill's physical safety, his intellectual reputation and several significant relationships. Beale reported in 1667 that Glanvill appealed to both the 'neighbour justices' and 'gentry', but that neither group

offered him protection from the ‘manifold dangers [threatened] by the crowds of [nonconformist] fanatics about Bath and Frome’.⁵¹ Indeed, in his account to Beale, Glanvill himself admitted fearing that the ‘Governm^t cannot stand much longer’ and for despite his attempts at mediation some will always ‘perfectly hate all ways & concells y^t tend to sobriety & peace’.⁵² However, while these events have been cited in relation to the dispute with Crosse, there is little reason to assume that the dispute with Cross and the threat of the nonconformists were directly related.⁵³ Crosse had something of a puritan disposition, but he was not a nonconformist. Of more concern was Crosse’s claim that Glanvill relates in the Preface to the *Plus ultra*, that ‘my LORD BISHOP had writ him [Crosse] a Gratulatory Letter for his egregious Vindication of the Scriptures against me, and had also reproved my Atheism and Infidelity, in another’. Glanvill refuted this claim, protesting that the Bishop ‘never spake or writ a word to me of any such matter’, and claiming that when he spoke to the Bishop, ‘he was pleased to assure me [Glanvill], that he never understood any thing of such a Business, before my inquiry’. Evidently, Glanvill felt more threatened, both physically and professionally, from the nonconformists active around Bath, than by Crosse’s allegations. Nevertheless, after Crosse claimed to have received a letter in which Glanvill capitulated and recanted his support of the new philosophy, Glanvill felt that Crosse’s campaign had reached a point where he needed to defend his position or risk losing all credibility as both a minister and FRS.⁵⁴

It is for this reason that the first edition of the *Plus ultra* takes the form of an exposition concerning the successes of the Society, its Fellows, and its experimental method, interspersed with passages directed against Crosse, passages in which Glanvill struggles with his commitment to developing a more objective style.⁵⁵ According to the 1668 ballad, Crosse was particularly sceptical about the use of dioptric telescopes and microscopes, and that Glanvill took particular issue with this opinion is reflected in his references to Crosse as the ‘Reverend Disputer’, the ‘Reverend Logician’ and ‘Idol of Disputers’ who ‘believed there was MAGICK in Opticks’.⁵⁶ The inclusion of such inflammatory phrases and related passages was likely the cause of Beale’s initial apprehension about the work.

The public nature of the dispute with Crosse has been the basis for suggestions that Glanvill’s advocacy of the Royal Society caused more damage than good to the Society’s reputation, at least in the short term and in his home county of Somerset.⁵⁷ However, while this exchange inflamed the situation in Somerset, Crosse’s specific focus on optics suggests that Glanvill was not Crosse’s primary target, but merely a convenient opponent. Crosse’s distrust of astronomical observations made through telescopes and microscopes was well established before his encounter with Glanvill and his distrust of ‘human reason, deprived of the grace of Christ’ was established by 1655, when he published the work *Lógou alogía*, subtitled, ‘the theological exercise of the folly of human reason, deprived of the grace of Christ, in matters of faith’.⁵⁸ Crosse mentions having investigated these phenomena

himself, doubting the efficacy of dioptric instruments on the grounds that his vision was distorted when looking through two pairs of spectacles.⁵⁹ Furthermore, all the accounts that we have of the disputation, from Beale, Anthony Wood, the Ballad and the *Plus ultra*, describe Crosse as specifically focused on his objections to optics.⁶⁰ This also suggests that his primary target was not Glanvill in particular, but experimental philosophy, and the work of men such as Galileo, who contributed to the undermining of Aristotelian philosophy.

It seems that it was only after their personal encounter that Crosse came to focus his attacks on Glanvill. Unfortunately there are no known copies of his later invective against the Society, written in reply to the *Plus ultra*. This work was reportedly rejected by the licensers in London and Oxford because of its ‘incomparable Railing and impertinence’. Glanvill claimed that Crosse ‘endeavour’d to expose me among his Cronies and Confederates’ through the circulation of manuscripts, private readings, ‘Doggerel Rhimes’ and by telling ‘Tales to every Country-Farmer, and Mechanick So that for a time, there was no other Subject handled on Ale-benches, and in Coffee-Houses, in all this Neighbourhood’.⁶¹ However, to focus on Crosse’s attempts to discredit the new science by attacking one of its key public advocates detracts from the bigger picture. Crosse was one of many, including Henry Stubbe and Robert South, making similar accusations about the Royal Society and its method. Indeed, despite the amusement taken from Glanvill’s coffee-house encounter with Crosse, Glanvill’s ensuing pamphlet exchange with Henry Stubbe was of much more potential danger to the Society’s reputation, even if this challenge also had little lasting impact.

Glanvill and Henry Stubbe

Henry Stubbe, a physician from Warwick and member of the College of Physicians, took particular exception to Glanvill’s comments on the imperfections of Galenic anatomy, which he interpreted as a personal attack on the College.⁶² Stubbe embarked on a tirade against the Royal Society in four pamphlets published in 1670, followed by three more in 1671; however, not all of these directly engaged with Glanvill.⁶³ Stubbe himself wrote that ‘the discourse of Mr. Glanvill, was the first occasion of my writing about the Royal Society’, but that it was the *Plus ultra* that led him to Sprat’s *History*. He determined, upon reading the *History*, that this was clearly the more ‘dangerous’ of the two works, causing him to temporarily abandon his analysis of Glanvill in order to prioritize his response to Sprat.⁶⁴ He confirmed this in a letter to Boyle dated 17 December 1669. While the *Plus ultra* was described as ‘enough to justify any severity of proceedings’, he continued: ‘it is much more strange to me, that they [the Fellows] should think, that a man needed particular exasperations to write against that pernicious *History*’.⁶⁵

Ultimately, three of the four works Stubbe produced in 1670 responded primarily to Sprat, ‘the historian [who] by his book is chargeable with

high-treason'.⁶⁶ The first of these works was entitled *A Censure upon Certain Passages Contained in The History of the Royal Society as Being Destructive to the Established Religion and Church of England*. Herein, Stubbe identified four key paragraphs from the *History* (which was over four hundred pages) that he believed 'condemn the Protestant separation' and place the Reformed Churches in 'evident perill not only of Superstition, but Idolatry'. In this way he implied that Sprat, and by extension the Royal Society he represented, were guilty of offending both religion and good manners.⁶⁷ Stubbe continued this theme in his second work of 1670 written in response to Glanvill. In this work, *A Specimen of Some Animadversions upon a Book Entituled, Plus ultra . . .*, he characterized the 'Mechanical Education' advocated by the Society and its experimental method as a philosophy which 'dispose[s] mens minds . . . to Atheism, or an indifference in Religion'.⁶⁸

It is clear from his *Specimen of Some Animadversions* that Stubbe is familiar with Meric Casaubon's *Letter to Peter du Moulin* and he seems to be attempting to build on Casaubon's concern that empirical science is detrimental to the moral and ethical state of mankind.⁶⁹ However, Stubbe diverges from Casaubon in two important ways. Casaubon is indeed concerned about atheistic tendencies that may emerge from modern intellectual movements and he bases his assessment, in part, on the *Plus ultra*.⁷⁰ However, unlike Stubbe, whose work is replete with personal attacks and invective, Casaubon is very measured and nuanced in expressing his primary concern that there is insufficient moral and ethical training inherent in the experimental method.⁷¹ He expresses similar concerns in his Preface to John Dee's conversations with angels.⁷² Stubbe takes this argument to the extreme in his fourth pamphlet of 1670, the *Campanella Revived, or An Enquiry into The History of the Royal Society, Whether the Virtuosi There Do Not Pursue the Projects of Campanella for the Reducing England unto Popery*. In this work he asserts that the Society was established by the Jesuits as part of a plot to return England to the popish flock.⁷³ This accusation was foreshadowed in his letter to Boyle of 27 December 1669, when he claims that 'the historian [Sprat] exactly complies with *Campanella* . . . and it is in vain for you [Fellows] not to meddle with religion amongst yourselves, if you thus overthrow it in your writings'.⁷⁴

Stubbe's response to Glanvill is, in contrast to Casaubon, neither as fluently written nor as impactful. Appearing in two editions, virtually identical in all but preface, the *Specimen of Some Animadversions* was republished appended to his third work of 1670, *Legends No Histories*. This treatise built considerably on the arguments against Sprat presented in the *Censure*. It is in this second edition that Stubbe's *Specimen of Some Animadversions* against Glanvill is given its better known title: "The *Plus ultra* Reduced to a Non Plus".⁷⁵ In his influential analysis of the exchange, Richard Jones notes that identifying Stubbe's true objections to the *Plus ultra* and the Society in this work is a challenge, as Stubbe is prone to both lengthy tangents and seeming self-contradictions.⁷⁶ For example, Stubbe quotes extensively

from Glanvill's account of Crosse's challenge to the effectiveness and reliability of telescopes: Crosse reportedly challenged the reliability of instruments using two lenses for magnification on the basis that if one puts on two pairs of spectacles, one can see less well than out of the one pair. Stubbe challenges Glanvill's knowledge of the topic on the grounds that Glanvill could have refuted Crosse with the simple truth that two pairs of glasses would only help someone who has very weak eyesight, giving an example of a 'young Gentlewoman' he knew whose vision was being increasingly impaired by cataracts. Stubbe also excuses Crosse for his error in the matter, on the grounds that 'he was unacquainted with a sort of knowledge which is unnecessary in a Divine, and not expected from him'.⁷⁷ In comparison, he chastises Glanvill for speaking out on a scientific matter, even though he was correct, because as a clergyman he shouldn't be meddling in such affairs. Thus Stubbe overlooks the fact that Crosse regularly and publicly criticized scientific discoveries, even though he was also a clergyman and clearly less educated in such matters.

Stubbe's true agenda in this matter eventually emerges and he freely admits to being biased in his reaction to Glanvill's discussion of Crosse and dioptrics. Stubbe acknowledges that he belaboured this point 'because of the insolence with which Mr. Glanvill persecutes that Reverend, and otherwise learned person' in what was one of Glanvill's less restrained chapters (and one of the few sections omitted from his 1676 essay revision).⁷⁸ Such a sentiment supports Glanvill's suggestion that there was some affiliation between Stubbe and Crosse. However, we cannot know with any certainty whether Stubbe was actually Crosse's patron and encouraged him in his defamation of Glanvill and the Society, whether they were friends, or whether they merely admired each other intellectually.⁷⁹

Despite his penchant for the dramatic, Glanvill's assessment of Stubbe as a more serious opponent than Crosse has merit. Stubbe's works may be littered with 'hot-headed'⁸⁰ phrases, but he also draws on a formidable range of references, which serve as testimony to the breadth and depth of his education and reading in many fields, both ancient and modern alike. Stubbe is as comfortable challenging Glanvill's knowledge of ancient texts as he is engaging with the substance of Boyle's work with the air-pump.⁸¹ However, Stubbe also often overstates Glanvill's claims, treating the *Plus ultra* as a comprehensive history of modern natural philosophy rather than, as it was expressly intended to be, a history of the Royal Society's achievements. As a result, much of the material Stubbe cites in support of his critique of Glanvill's knowledge of particular topics moves well beyond the scope of Glanvill's original points. For example, Glanvill does not claim that Boyle was the first to invent an air-pump as one might presume after reading Stubbe's account about the device's history. Indeed Glanvill acknowledges the preceding air-pump experiments in Magdeburg that Stubbe uses to refute Glanvill's alleged claim.⁸²

With the publication of Stubbe's next two works, the dispute becomes more complex. In both the first part of *Legends No Histories*, which is a

more comprehensive invective primarily directed against Sprat, and *Campanella Revived*, Stubbe broadens his attacks on the Society and several of its representatives. The likes of John Wallis, Christopher Wren, Christopher Merrett and even Robert Boyle find themselves targeted as examples of 'good men [who] are often-times made use of to pernicious ends, and unwittingly become instruments of the basest frauds'.⁸³ While Stubbe does not appear to gain much support in his endeavour, he inspires Merrett, a member of the Royal College of Physicians and founding Fellow, to respond in defence of his own works, the Royal Society and the 'many other Famous men' of England defamed in Stubbe's works.⁸⁴ The dispute continues in 1671 with the publication of Glanvill's two rebuttals and another three treatises from Stubbe.

The nature of the accusations Stubbe makes in the 1670 treatises implies that he is motivated by concerns for the spiritual and moral health of the nation. However, in the 1671 texts, he appears more concerned with preserving the standing of the Royal College of Physicians, which was still closely associated with Galenic medicine and which he perceived was under threat from the Society. Chemical medicine, injections, transfusions and new anatomical theories were all associated with the Society at this time and had inspired a questioning of fundamental elements of Galenic medicine.⁸⁵ Stubbe's belief that the Society was trying to take over the College is evident in the preface to the *Campanella*, where he asserts that the 'Empiricks' from the Royal Society were not only trying to 'overthrow' the College, but were seeking to assert their 'pernicious influence . . . upon all Trades and Professions' with the ultimate aim of debauching 'the Nation from all Piety and Morality, as well as civil Wisdom'.⁸⁶

However, it is in his attacks on Merrett, a member of the College, and George Thomson, an Helmontian physician and critic of the College, that Stubbe's desire to defend Galenic medicine becomes most clearly evident. These two fellow physicians challenged aspects of Galenic medicine: Merrett urged physicians to adopt experimental methodologies, and Thomson argued against both phlebotomy (bloodletting) and the theory of humours.⁸⁷ In response, Stubbe made bold claims in defence of Galenic medicine:

'Tis malapertness in this Bacon-faced generation, to dispute these points, since the phaenomena of diseases, and the operation of Medicaments doth correspond with this Hypothesis [i.e. that the blood is made of humours or a 'Heterogeneous' substance which is affected by humours], and are as adequate thereunto, as humane nature (which is not capable of an exact knowledge, and ought to acquiesce in what is useful) can adjust them.⁸⁸

Merret, Thomson and Glanvill challenged Stubbe's account of the problematic relationship between the Society and the College. Stubbe asserted that many physicians had become disillusioned with the Society and had renounced their

memberships, as had many other reputable men including Henry More.⁸⁹ Glanvill countered this claim by publishing a letter from Henry More denying that he has left or become disillusioned with the Royal Society.⁹⁰ Merrett turned to statistics, claiming that in the 1669 register there were some thirty-four registered Fellows who were also physicians, none of whom had formally resigned their membership or been crossed out from the register. He also responded with a conspiracy theory of his own, going to great lengths to establish a connection between Stubbe and a group of London apothecaries whose business stood to benefit from the discrediting of both the College and the Society.⁹¹

Thomson responded to Stubbe with a more convincing accusation, implying that he was encouraged in these attacks by his 'Hyperbolically extolled' unnamed patron. Stubbe responded by explicitly denying that his patron, Sir Alexander Frasier, had any complicity in the matter.⁹² However, while Stubbe here named a different patron, Thomson's accusation possibly indicates there is something to Harcourt Brown's suggestion that a member of the College paid Stubbe to attack the Society. Brown based this theory on a manuscript biography of Dr Baldwin Hamey, written by his nephew Ralph Palmer. Palmer noted that Stubbe was 'well gratified by Dr Hamey' for his writings against the Society, which were designed to 'keep this Leviathan in its proper Element'. However, he continued, Hamey's death in 1676 derailed this defence of the College's sphere of influence and the Society promptly 'Invaded entirely ye Busyness of Physick, Anatomy, Surgery, and Botany'.⁹³ Stubbe's railing against the Society had subsided by the time Hamey passed, but his interest in preserving the integrity of the College is clear, as is Hamey's. Hamey was the College's 'largest benefactor', having made a considerable donation toward rebuilding its buildings after they were destroyed in the fire of 1666. The destruction of the physical premises of the College was, according to Stubbe and Merrett, at the centre of the tensions between the College and the Society.⁹⁴ Richard Jones addresses neither Thomson nor Palmer when he dismisses the possibility that Stubbe was paid to write these pamphlets against the Society as 'hardly credible', on the grounds that 'No bribe could have inspired the intensity of his hatred'.⁹⁵ Jones makes a valid point; however, the possibility that Stubbe's works were in some way commissioned does not negate the possibility that his works reflect actual concerns, rumours or attitudes towards the Society. Likewise, Harcourt Brown's summation that Stubbe was 'a pamphleteer of no consequence' and that 'the Royal Society was attacked as impious and atheistic by men who had spiritual reasons at heart', seems an equally extreme interpretation of the evidence.⁹⁶

Stubbe rapidly faded into the margins of intellectual life, suggesting that although this debate was garrulous and fiery, it was Stubbe who, as he himself acknowledges, was perceived as severe and unprovoked.⁹⁷ Although Stubbe is mentioned in Samuel Butler's satirical poem *The Elephant in the Moon*, a critique of the Society from the mid-1670s, it appears that if the

dispute had any lasting impact, it was in the more widespread recognition of Glanvill as a figure associated with the promotion of the Royal Society and its experimental method.⁹⁸ Thus Merrett specifically gives his support to Glanvill and foreshadows Glanvill's next welcome contribution to the debate.⁹⁹ Furthermore, in attracting the public support of Thomson and Merrett for the Society, the debate between Glanvill and Stubbe resulted, ultimately, in a positive reinforcement of the wider appeal of the Royal Society. These commendations in print contrast with Beale's privately expressed relief that Glanvill was otherwise occupied and therefore unlikely to be preparing another volume to add to the debate.¹⁰⁰ If Cope correctly identified Glanvill as the author of the letter published anonymously under the title *An Apology and Advice for Some of The Clergy, Who Suffer under False and Scandalous Reports* (1674), then Glanvill may have abstained because the debate with Crosse and Stubbe took a personal toll on him. However, the birth of Glanvill's first child, who was baptized in April 1673, and the confidence of his revised essays published in 1676, suggests that any retreat into 'great Privacy and Retiredness of living' by Glanvill, as recommended in the *Advice*, were short lived.¹⁰¹ Beale might have been privately impatient with Glanvill's style of advocacy, but he seems to have been in the minority. Indeed, tracing the influences of the *Plus ultra* beyond this debate confirms Glanvill's reputation as a leading propagandist of the Society, a reputation that spread across the Channel and endured at least until the end of the century.

The *Plus ultra* Abroad

Although not actually translated, the *Plus ultra*, as a summary of the current state of experimental philosophy in England, was also being used to promote the Royal Society in continental European circles. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Jakob Thomasius and Georg Daniel Morhof provide insight into their reactions to the *Plus ultra* in several discourses which were significant to the shaping of German philosophy. Although very little work has been done on Glanvill's influence outside England, tracing the influence of his works in the German context provides an interesting perspective on German reactions to the Society's experimental method and is essential for a comprehensive understanding of the impact of Glanvill's work.

References to the *Plus ultra* and the *Scepsis scientifica* appear in Leibniz's correspondence and Georg Daniel Morhof's encyclopaedic work, the *Polyhistor* (1688),¹⁰² in the context of their characterizations of the Society and the work of its Fellows. Given that both Leibniz and Morhof were personally involved with the Society, it can be considered an endorsement of Glanvill that they characterize the Society through these two works and recommend them both.¹⁰³

The *Plus ultra* is most frequently mentioned in Leibniz's correspondence in the context of discussions about the current intellectual climate and the

task of reconciling new ideas and methodologies with traditional learning. Between April 1669 and October 1671, Leibniz recommended the work to five notable colleagues: Jakob Thomasius, an Aristotelian philosopher and Leibniz's mentor;¹⁰⁴ Gottlieb Spitzel, a theologian and orientalist, who also performed exorcisms;¹⁰⁵ Andreas Bose, Professor of History at Jena;¹⁰⁶ Hermann Conring, a notable physician and philosopher;¹⁰⁷ and the Emperor, Leopold I.¹⁰⁸ Interestingly, Leibniz may not have read the work when he wrote many of these letters. His letter to Conring from 8 February 1671 suggests that Leibniz was still waiting for his copy of the work to arrive from Oldenburg, the Society's secretary.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, it seems likely that the work met his expectations once he read it. The drafts of his universal encyclopaedia from 1679 borrow the title *Plus ultra*, which Glanvill himself copied from Bacon.¹¹⁰ The title appears in Leibniz's corpus again in c.1686 in the outline for a work that he planned to call *Guilielmi Pacidii, Plus ultra sive Initia et specimina scientiae generalis*. The outline further suggests that Leibniz intended to discuss Glanvill in the first chapter of this work.¹¹¹

Leibniz's discussion of Glanvill's work essentially comprises only a few brief references; however, his standing as a Fellow and role as an advocate for the Society abroad lend these mentions more significance than they might otherwise have. Rather than going into depth summarizing the work of the Society himself, Leibniz recommends the *Plus ultra* to several key philosophical figures who would then perceive the Society and its work through Glanvill directly. Furthermore, the reputation which preceded the *Plus ultra* was overwhelmingly positive and, for Leibniz at least, rivalled that of Sprat's *History*. This again contradicts the characterization of the English reaction to the *Plus ultra* as quite damaging to the reputation of both Glanvill and the Society.¹¹²

Leibniz was evidently aware of the dispute between Glanvill and Stubbe, as was Georg Hieronymus Welsch, a physician and philosopher. Welsch wrote to Leibniz from Hannover in April 1672 and described Stubbe's book as 'against the English Society and Sprat' (*contra Societatem Anglicam et Spratium*). He informs Leibniz that he has not yet seen the work, and gives the impression that he is not interested to, as it is merely an inflammatory piece.¹¹³ This exchange, combined with Leibniz's promotion of the *Plus ultra*, suggests that, in stark contrast to Stubbe's works, the *Plus ultra* was eagerly awaited on the Continent. Perhaps more importantly, since Leibniz wrote many of these letters before reading the *Plus ultra* suggests that the work was also being promoted to Leibniz, presumably by his English contacts. It seems that it was expected that the *Plus ultra* would make an important contribution to the German assimilation of the mechanical, chemical and experimental philosophies, as adopted by the Society.¹¹⁴

Leibniz's desire to assimilate new scientific discoveries with traditional learning is particularly evident in the letter from Leibniz to Jakob Thomasius of 20/30 April 1669, a letter which Leibniz later published as an accompaniment to his edition of Marius Nizolius' work against pseudo-philosophy,

De veris principiis et vera ratione philosophandi contra pseudophilosophos, libri IV under the sub-heading “*Epistola ad exquisitissimae doctrinae virum de Aristotele recentioribus reconciliabili*”.¹¹⁵ Christia Mercer highlighted the significance of this letter as an illustration of Leibniz’s philosophical divergence from Thomasius, his Aristotelian teacher and mentor.¹¹⁶ In keeping with the dominant theme of this letter, Leibniz describes Glanvill’s *Plus ultra* as a ‘history of philosophy’ (*historiam philosophiae*), focused on the mathematics, mechanics and physics of ‘the more noteworthy periods’ (*tantum periodos sequuturum*). As such, Leibniz notes the *Plus ultra* will not diminish the second edition of Thomasius’ *Origines historicae philosophiae et ecclesiasticae*, which was published in 1669. However, immediately after, Leibniz urges Thomasius to produce both a ‘style and a method’ (*stilum filumque*) for this new age and warn our unseasoned youth that it is wrong to give our moderns credit either for everything or for nothing.¹¹⁷ Leibniz thus recommends that Thomasius consider adopting a modernized and eclectic approach to philosophy. He challenges Thomasius to aid him in his quest to ‘forge [a] philosophical peace’,¹¹⁸ and to help the public and ‘our unseasoned youth’ by developing a philosophy that is sensitive to the limitations of both the old and the new.¹¹⁹ Indeed, according to Leibniz, Glanvill claims the new philosophy of the Royal Society has done just this, by reviving old, and investigating new, non-Aristotelian theories to great effect.¹²⁰ Leibniz’s characterization of Glanvill’s argument thus helps explain his enthusiasm for the work and why he would consider associating himself with it by referencing the *Plus ultra* in the title of one of his planned works.¹²¹

In his encyclopaedic work, the *Polyhistor*, written between 1688 and 1707, Morhof gives an assessment of Glanvill’s work which is somewhat more complex, nuanced and fully informed than what is evident in Leibniz’s correspondence. As a result, Morhof is more critical of the *Plus ultra*. He is apparently aware that Stubbe wrote many books against Sprat and Glanvill, though he only names one: “The *Plus ultra* Reduced to a Non Plus.” He concedes that despite Stubbe’s prejudices (*præjudiciis*), he is correct in some of his censures, and that Glanvill has overstated the Society’s claim to discovery in certain cases.¹²² Morhof justifies this assessment by giving, as an example, an account of the claim that John Wallis and William Holder developed the technique through which one could teach a deaf person to speak. Morhof notes that there were at least four books on this technique which pre-dated the English attempts, none of which were acknowledged in Wallis’s letter in the *Philosophical Transactions*,¹²³ or Holder’s *Elements of Speech* (1669). However, in Morhof’s case, this criticism is directed at the Royal Society as a collective more so than at Sprat or Glanvill and their reporting of the Society’s activities.

Morhof’s criticism of Glanvill and the Society’s methods of reporting is somewhat mitigated by his assessment of their use of methodical doubt.¹²⁴ In these passages he describes Glanvill’s earlier work, *Scepsis scientifica*, as an effective demonstration of the Royal Society’s method of putting aside

‘all the prejudices of the old Physics, so they may discover and demonstrate conclusions with certainty’.¹²⁵ Morhof also praises Glanvill’s use of methodical doubt in the *Philosophia pia*, which was also published in 1671. The intention of this work, as Morhof notes, was to demonstrate that experimental philosophy was compatible with Anglican religious doctrine. Indeed, Morhof has evidently read this work himself, and points out that the first chapter of the *Philosophia pia* is devoted to a similar discussion of the dangers of dogmatizing and the sceptical approach that inspired the *Scepsis*.¹²⁶

These references to Glanvill suggest that he became known in Germany through his advocacy of the Society in the late 1660s and early 1670s. They suggest that despite some members’ reservations about the *Plus ultra*, the Society was keen to distribute the work widely. Furthermore, Leibniz’s expectations of the work, and Morhof’s critique of some of the claims within the work, seem significant. These views imply that the *Plus ultra* was promoted as an authorized account of the advancements achieved by the Society and that it was considered an account that differed from, yet complemented, Sprat’s *History*. This characterization of the *Plus ultra* supports the suggestion that Glanvill was urged to write this work to remedy a perceived weakness in Sprat’s account of the Society’s contributions to the development of knowledge and new technologies. It also suggests that Glanvill may be more important to future studies of the relationship between the Royal Society and continental Europe than we might have expected, particularly considering that the arrival of the *Plus ultra* seems to have sparked interest in his earlier works, particularly the *Scepsis scientifica*.

Later Influences of the *Plus ultra* in England

Within England, the *Plus ultra* continued to be influential, resurfacing prominently when the ancients versus moderns debate was reignited by William Temple’s essay ‘Upon Ancient and Modern Learning’ (1690).¹²⁷ At least two of the respondents to this work, Thomas Blount and William Wotton, drew heavily on the *Plus ultra* to construct their responses. Richard Jones undertook an inspired comparison of the works in this debate in his celebrated essay ‘The Battle of the Books’, which includes details of passages that both Blount and Wotton had plagiarised from Glanvill.¹²⁸ In particular, the eighth essay in Blount’s collection, *Essays on Several Subjects* (1692), includes many sections based on passages from Glanvill, such as the section where he discusses the limitations of ancient navigation and geography. However, Blount never acknowledges Glanvill directly anywhere in the work.¹²⁹

Wotton, in comparison, bases large sections of his work, *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (1694), on the *Plus ultra*, using the same sources, arguments and examples that Glanvill draws on when discussing the advances made through the telescope, the compass, and other new and improved devices, including microscopes, barometers and the air-pump.¹³⁰ However, Wotton’s use of Glanvill’s method of argument is most striking.

Like Glanvill, Wotton focuses heavily on the utility of modern science, using contemporary evidence to reinforce his defence of the Society's work. Indeed, Wotton takes full advantage of the extra three decades of scientific discovery to expand and reinforce his demonstrations.¹³¹

Wotton also briefly reflects upon the Glanvill and Stubbe debate, characterizing the exchange as 'rather Personal' and Stubbe's response to Glanvill as 'brutal'. Overall, Wotton agrees with Glanvill's point of view, and his mimicry of the *Plus ultra* is, ultimately, an endorsement of that work. Yet Glanvill is not spared Wotton's critical eye and Wotton suggests that when it came to the subject of anatomy, Glanvill perhaps gave the Ancients somewhat 'less than was their Due'. However, even this criticism is testimony to the continued influence of the *Plus ultra*, as Wotton informs the reader that this characterization of anatomy had been made by 'some others who seem to have copied from him [Glanvill]'.¹³² These 'others' remain unidentified.

This expanded account of the impact and reception of the *Plus ultra* alters the way we might characterize both the work itself, the dispute which it ignited and its impact. This longer and broader perspective suggests that although there were some like Beale who may have had their reservations about Glanvill's methods, these reservations, like the animosity between Glanvill and Stubbe, were short lived. Just as Glanvill later reconciled himself with Stubbe, preaching a funeral sermon for him in 1676, Beale continued to support Glanvill in his endeavours despite his hesitation.¹³³ As Merrett predicted, Stubbe's invective was unsuccessful in causing any lasting damage to the reputations of either Glanvill, Sprat or the Society.¹³⁴ This claim is supported, in Glanvill's case, by other developments in his life and work—his increasing involvement with his patrons, Henry and Mary Somerset, and the honour afforded him through his promotion to Chaplain in Ordinary to Charles II. Glanvill's involvement with the Royal Society continued, with several Fellows contributing to the investigations into witchcraft cases that Glanvill undertook throughout the 1670s in preparation for publishing a new edition of *A Blow at Modern Sadducism*. Although Glanvill did not figure prominently in the response to the renewed attacks made on the Society following Oldenburg's death in 1677, the revised works published in his collections of essays and sermons continued to promote experimental science and its benefits to a broad audience.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

1. On the circumstances of Glanvill's nomination see Chapter 1.
2. Oldenburg-Boyle_10/12/1664_2:332.
3. Oldenburg-Boyle_1/10/1667_3:503.
4. Birch, *History*, 2:297.
5. PU68_WingG820_19; Dr Fabritius, "Some New Experiments of Injecting Medicated Liquors into Veins, Together with [an Account of] Considerable Cures Performed Thereby," *Philosophical Transactions* 2 (1666): 564–565. On Fabritius (or Fabricius) of Danzig see: Birch, *History*, 2:236, 339, 341.
6. PU68_WingG820_7, 15–17, 51–53.
7. PU68_WingG820_18–19, 61–64.
8. See Chapter 1.
9. See Chapter 6. Cf. Stark, *Rhetoric, Science & Magic*, 39.
10. PU68_WingG820_25.
11. According to Glanvill, geometry, much praised by Plato, began to recover quickly with the work of Euclid of Alexandria (third century BCE). PU68_WingG820_26.
12. Essays76_WingG809. This revised version is overlooked by Steneck when he writes 'unlike Glanvill's other works, *Plus ultra* did not come out in a second, revised edition'. Steneck mentions the 1676 essay in a footnote, but refers to it only as a 'shortened version'. Steneck, "Ballad," 64, 72 n.32.
13. Essays76_WingG809_3, 10.
14. Stark, *Rhetoric, Science & Magic*, 25, 29–46.
15. PU68_WingG820_Preface, chapters IX, XV.
16. Glanvill does not actually use the phrase 'old useless notional disputes' though it was here implied that he did. Syfret, "Early Critics," 29–30. Wood refers to Glanvill as 'his conceited antagonist', even though he generally portrays him favourably, especially in relation to the dispute with Stubbe, in the entry on Robert Crosse. Wood is seemingly influenced in this by the Aristotelian tendencies that also colour his description of the way Glanvill clung to 'many petty newfangled and fantastical hypotheses', and undervalued Aristotle's philosophy that 'hath been received in the schools for many ages of great authority.' Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 3:1245, 4:122–3.
17. Glanvill refers to the Aristotelian method as the 'Notional way' twice in the *Plus ultra*. PU68_WingG820_12, 26.
18. PU68_WingG820_12, 51–58. For uses of the terms 'practical' see: PU68_WingG820_5, 7, 20, 28, 74, 100, 105, 115, 128, 140, 146, 148. And for 'useful' see: PU68_WingG820_6, 9, 20–21, 23, 25–26, 28, 40, 43, 48, 51, 57, 62–63, 74, 86, 92, 94–97, 100, 104, 106–108, 117, 120–121, 126–127. This frequent usage is not surprising given the emphasis on utilitarian science as the common goal that unified the FRS. Jon Parkin, *Science, Religion, and Politics in Restoration England: Richard Cumberland's "De legibus naturae"* (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society, 1999), 119.
19. PU68_WingG820_6–7, 12–13, 25–28.
20. PU68_WingG820_56–57.
21. Beale-Oldenburg_1/6/1667_3:427.
22. [Henry Oldenburg], "An Account of Some Books," *Philosophical Transactions* 2 (1667): 501, 504.

23. Oldenburg-Boyle_24/11/1664_2:319–325.
24. Oldenburg-Boyle_1/10/1667_3:503. Cf. Lewis Samuel Feuer, *The Scientific Intellectual* (N.p.: Transaction Publishers, 1992), 62.
25. PU68_WingG820_90, 92ff.
26. Steneck, “Ballad”; Reichert, “Glanvill’s *Plus ultra*,” 49.
27. Beale identifies several passages on algebra, Optics and Transfusion as candidates for revision. Beale-Oldenburg_4/7/1668_4:507.
28. Beale-Oldenburg_27/6/1668_4:474–475.
29. Beale-Evelyn_[April/May 1667]_fol.51r. Cf. Steneck, “Ballad,” 61–62, n16.
30. Beale-Oldenburg_4/7/1668_4:507.
31. This is a reference to: Samuel Woodford, *A Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David* (London, 1667). This work was partially drafted while Woodford was staying with Beale. N. H. Keeble, “Woodford, Samuel (1636–1700),” online ed., January 2008, in *DNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com (homepage).
32. Beale-Oldenburg_[11]/7/1668_4:535.
33. Birch, *History*, 2:297.
34. [Henry Oldenburg], “An Account of Two Books,” *Philosophical Transactions* 3 (1668): 716.
35. Evelyn-Glanvill_24/6/1668_3:204.
36. Margaret Purver, *The Royal Society: Concept and Creation* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, [1967] 2013), 12.
37. PU68_WingG820_sig.B3v.
38. Robert South, “The Practice of Religion Enforced by Reason: In a Sermon Preached upon Prov. X. 9. At Westminster-Abbey, 1667,” in *Twelve Sermons Preached upon Several Occasions* (London, 1694), 50. Cf. A. Rupert Hall and Marie Boas Hall, eds, *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg*, 13 vols. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965–1986), 3:429 n.12.
39. Beale-Oldenburg_1/6/1667_3:427. South also expressed his views on natural philosophy in other sermons. In a sermon presented at Lincolns-Inn and published in 1678, South laments the decline in the quality of preachers who scorn the ‘knowledge of the tongues, the Study of Philosophy, Schole-divinity, the Fathers & Councils’ instead taking a short cut, reading ‘perhaps a Treatise or two upon the heart, the bruised Reed, the Crums of Comfort, Wollebius in English, and some other little Authors the usual Furniture of Old Womens Closets’ then claiming to be ‘accomplished Divines’. Robert South, “Ecclesiasticall Policy the Best Policy, or, Religion the Best Reason of State,” in *Sermons Preached upon Several Occasions* (Oxford, 1679), 96.
40. PAtoHS71_WingG821_3.
41. Henry Stubbe, *A Reply unto the Letter Written to Mr. Henry Stubbe in Defense of the History of the Royal Society Whereunto Is Added a Preface against Ecebolius Glanville, and an Answer to the Letter of Dr. Henry More, Containing a Reply to the Untruthes He Hath Publish’d, and a Censure of the Cabbalo-Pythagorical Philosophy, By Him Promoted* (Oxford, 1671), 19–20. Cf. Purver, *Royal Society*, 13–14.
42. In a letter to Robert Boyle, Stubbe makes the claim that the *Plus ultra* was ‘written by a cabal, and not by him [Glanvill] alone’. However this assertion does feature significantly in his published works. Stubbe-Boyle_17/12/1669_4:153.
43. That Webster’s *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* received the Society’s imprimatur is regularly commented upon. However, Webster still had great difficulty getting his book licenced and its small single edition stands in contrast to the numerous editions of Glanvill’s works. On Webster’s difficulties see: Webster-Lister_12/1/1674_fol.145–147; Webster-Lister_13/2/1674_fol.148; Webster-Lister_6/3/1674_fol.157. Cf. Bostridge, *Witchcraft and Transformations*, 72;

- Webster, *Paracelsus to Newton*, 96; Michael Hunter, "The Royal Society and the Decline of Magic," *Notes and Records* 65.2 (2011): 107.
44. This is evident in the full title of: *Plus ultra, or, The Progress and Advancement of Knowledge Since the Days of Aristotle in an Account of Some of the Most Remarkable Late Improvements of Practical, Useful Learning, to Encourage Philosophical Endeavours: Occasioned by a Conference With One of the Notional Way*.
 45. Werrett, *Fireworks*, esp. 77–81, 101.
 46. There seems to be some confusion about this date which is given as 1653 by Steneck and as 1648 by Cope. Steneck, "Ballad," 61; Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956, 23. However, archival sources confirm Crosse assumed his position at Chew Magna on the 12 May 1652, meaning that he had left Oxford before Glanvill began his studies at Exeter College in 1653. SRO, D/D/Vc.43 (Exhibition Book) and SRO, D/D/B.Reg/22 (Register) cited in "Parish (Church): Chew Magna (CCed Location ID: 4400)," *CCEd*, www.theclergydatabase.org.uk (homepage), accessed 24 April 2014. This date is corroborated by: Henry Lancaster, "Crosse, Robert (1604/5–1683)," in *DNB*, online ed. January 2008 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com (homepage).
 47. On Glanvill's earlier altercation with White after the publication of *The Vanity* see Chapter 1. PU68_WingG820_sig.B4v, 5, 137–141.
 48. There are two known manuscript versions of the Ballad: Bodleian Library, MS. Wood F.22, fol. 181r-v and British Library, MS. Additional 4456, fols 133r-134v. A comparative edition of the Ballad is published in Steneck, "Ballad," 68–70.
 49. Most evidence for Crosse's Aristotelianism is derived from Glanvill. PU68_WingG820_3–5. However this characterisation is corroborated by Stubbe and Anthony Wood. Stubbe, *A Reply unto the Letter*, 58; Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 4:122. Cf. Steneck, "Ballad," 61.
 50. "The Ballad of Robert Crosse and Joseph Glanvill" in Steneck, "Ballad," 70, lines 131–133. For additional accounts of the event see: Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 4:123–124; Beale-Evelyn_[April/May 1667]_fol.51r-54v.
 51. Beale-Williamson_31/8/1667_80.
 52. Glanvill-Beale_10/9/1667_fol.216r-v.
 53. Steneck, "Ballad," 62–63.
 54. PU68_WingG820_sig.A8r-B1r.
 55. Though the second version of the work, the essay "Modern Improvements of Useful Knowledge," contains similar revisions to those seen in the *Scepsis*, the main changes involve the omission of these invectives against Crosse. In this process Glanvill removed some forty-one pages of defensive Preface and introductory material and some seven pages of text, in which he defended both the telescope and the experimental methods used to verify its efficacy. PU68_WingG820_65–71; Essays76_WingG809_29. Glanvill also introduces changes that make his argument appear less presumptuous. For example, 'And I think it may be as well concluded from the first Chapter of Genesis, as from the Remains of those Ancients' becomes 'And perhaps it may be as well concluded' PU68_WingG820_15; Essays76_WingG809_5. Similarly 'the inimitable Des-Cartes' no longer 'vastly' outdoes all those who went before him, but becomes the mere 'Des-Cartes' who 'hath out-done both former and later Times'. PU68_WingG820_24; Essays76_WingG809_9. Some of the lists of contributions of note have also been amended, as is the case in the anatomical discoveries, where references to Bartholin, Highmore, Willis and Bellini are omitted. PU68_WingG820_14; Essays76_WingG809_4.
 56. "Ballad of Robert Crosse and Joseph Glanvill" in Steneck, "Ballad," 69, lines 44–55; PU68_WingG820_19, 21, 23; Essays76_WingG809_7, 8, 9.

57. Steneck, "Ballad," passim.
58. Robert Crosse, *Lógou alogía, seu exercitatio theologica de insipientiâ rationis humanæ, gratiâ Christi destitutæ, in rebus fidei* (Oxford, 1655).
59. "Ballad of Robert Crosse and Joseph Glanvill" in Steneck, "Ballad," 69, lines 50–55; PU68_WingG820_65–71; PAtoHS71_WingG821_166–169.
60. PU68_WingG820; Steneck, "Ballad," passim; Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 4:123–124. Cf. Beale-Evelyn_[April/May 1667]_fol.51r-54v.
61. PAtoHS71_WingG821_2.
62. For Glanvill on Galen see especially: PU68_WingG820_9–19. Henry Stubbe, *Campanella Revived, or, An Enquiry into the History of the Royal Society, Whether the Virtuosi There Do Not Pursue the Projects of Campanella for the Reducing England unto Popery* (London, 1670), sig.A3r.
63. A table listing the major works involved in this debate, in chronological order is included in Davies, "Science in an Enchanted World," appendix six.
64. Henry Stubbe, *A Specimen of Some Animadversions upon a Book Entituled, Plus ultra, or, Modern Improvements of Useful Knowledge* (London, 1670), 1–2.
65. Stubbe-Boyle_17/12/1669_4:153.
66. Stubbe-Boyle_17/12/1669_4:154.
67. Henry Stubbe, *A Censure upon Certain Passages Contained in the History of the Royal Society as Being Destructive to the Established Religion and Church of England* (Oxford, 1670), 3, 29, 64.
68. Stubbe, *Specimen of Some Animadversions*, 15–18.
69. For references to Casaubon's letter see: Stubbe, *A Censure*, 7; Stubbe, *Legends No Histories*, sig.*2v. For Casaubon's concern about the empirical science and mechanical philosophy see: Meric Casaubon, *A Letter of Meric Casaubon D.D. &c to Peter du Moulin D.D.* (Cambridge, 1669), passim.
70. Casaubon, *Casaubon to Du Moulin*, 4. After reading Casaubon's letter, Du Moulin writes to Boyle, and though he laments that Glanvill's books have inflamed the Society's 'feud' with the Universities, it is clear that even Casaubon's letter has not swayed him from his support of the Society and he expresses his faith that Boyle can 'stop that growing evil'. du Moulin-Boyle_28/12/1669_4:156.
71. Richard Jones, *Ancients and Moderns*, 2nd ed. (St. Louis: [Washington University], 1961), 241–244.
72. Meric Casaubon, "Preface," in John Dee, *A True & Faithful Relation*, ed. Meric Casaubon (London, 1659).
73. Stubbe, *Campanella Revived*, passim.
74. Stubbe-Boyle_17/12/1669_4:153.
75. Stubbe, *Legends No Histories*, 1(2). As the page numbering restarts at the beginning of "The *Plus ultra* Reduced to a Non Plus," the numbered pages are all consistent with any references given in: Stubbe, *Specimen of Some Animadversions*.
76. Jones, *Ancients and Moderns*, 261.
77. Stubbe, *Specimen of Some Animadversions*, 28–29.
78. Stubbe, *Specimen of Some Animadversions*, 48.
79. PAtoHS71_WingG821_13, 44, 72.
80. PAtoHS71_WingG821_198.
81. For an impressive passage in which Stubbe challenges Glanvill's suggestion that Galenic anatomy was not based on observational knowledge of human organs, using, among others, passages from the church father Tertullian see: Stubbe, *Specimen of Some Animadversions*, 71–73. For Stubbe's challenge to the significance and originality of Boyle's work with the air-pump see: Stubbe, *Specimen of Some Animadversions*, 8–10.
82. Glanvill instead praises the work Boyle did with his improved version of the device. PU68_WingG820_94; Stubbe, *Specimen of Some Animadversions*, 9.
83. Stubbe, *Legends No Histories*, sig.*4r.

84. Christopher Merret, *A Short Reply to the Postscript, &c. of H.S. Shewing His Many Falsities in Matters of Fact; the Impertinencies of His Promised Answers to Some Physicians That Have Written against the Apothecaries: His Conspiracy with Apothecaries to Defame Them, the R.S. and Many Learned Men of Our Nation* (London, 1670), 42.
85. PU68_WingG820. See also Chapter 4.
86. Stubbe, *Campanella Revived*, 21.
87. D. E. Allen, "Merret, Christopher (1614–1695)," online ed., May 2013, in DNB (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com (homepage); Christopher Merret, *A Short View of the Frauds, and Abuses Committed by Apothecaries* (London, 1669); Christopher Merret, *The Accomplisht Physician, the Honest Apothecary, and the Skilful Chyrurgeon Detecting Their Necessary Connexion and Dependence on Each Other* (London, 1670); George Thomson, *A Letter Sent to Mr. Henry Stubbe on Which Animadversions Are Made by Geo. Thomson, Dr. of Physick* (London, 1672).
88. Henry Stubbe, *An Epistolary Discourse concerning Phlebotomy in Opposition to G. Thomson Pseudo-Chymist, a Pretended Disciple of the Lord Verulam* (Unknown, 1671), 9.
89. This claim may also have been an attempt to discredit Glanvill who was a well-known associate of More's by this time. Stubbe, *Campanella Revived*, sig.A3r.
90. This letter was appended to his *Praefatory Answer to Mr. Henry Stubbe* printed in 1671. PAtoHS71_WingG821_154–158. Merret also refutes this claim: Merret, *A Short Reply*, 3.
91. Merret, *A Short Reply*, 3, 7–11.
92. Thomson, *Letter Sent to Henry Stubbe*, 3; "Mr Stubbe's Answer," in Thomson, *Letter Sent to Henry Stubbe*, 11.
93. Ralph Palmer, *Biography of Dr. Baldwin Hamey*, Royal College of Physicians, MS-PALMR/337, three leaves inserted after fol.90. Cf. Harcourt Brown, *Scientific Organizations in Seventeenth Century France (1626–1680)* (New York: Russell & Russell, [1934] 1967), 256–257. The College archivist Peter Basham kindly provided photos of these pages which confirm the reference is accurate and that the relevant leaves are in Palmer's hand.
94. Norman Moore, "Hamey, Baldwin, the Younger (1600–1676)," in DNB, ed. revised by Michael Bevan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Cf. Stubbe, *Campanella Revived*, sig.A3r; Merret, *A Short Reply*, 2–3, 24–25.
95. Jones, *Ancients and Moderns*, 337 n.16.
96. Brown, *Scientific Organizations*, 257.
97. Stubbe-Boyle_17/12/1669_4:153.
98. Samuel Butler, "The Elephant in the Moon," in *The Poems of Samuel Butler* (Chiswick: C. Whittingham, 1882), 132, 148. Although Glanvill published several works engaging with the importance of the scientific method and its compatibility with Anglican theology, these works, appearing for the most part in the volumes dedicated to the Worcesters, were not directly marketed as propagandistic works and Glanvill seems not to have been heavily involved in responding to the criticisms directed against the Society around the time of Oldenburg's death in 1677. It is possible that his activity at this time was impacted by the death of his first wife from unknown causes in April 1679. Jewers, *Abbey Registers*, 2:384.
99. Merret, *A Short Reply*, 35, 39.
100. Beale writes 'I have a dark hint of somebody y^t intends a Tract to shew in *many considerable particulars*, How intricate y^e Ancients are, & How universall or important, & easy, y^e Monderne. But as I guesse y^e persone, He will never be at leisure for it. His whole life is taken up for more public Exigences'. [original emphasis] Given the relationship of the underlined phrase to the sub-title of

- the *Plus ultra*, and the knowledge that Glanvill was appointed to Streat and Walton in 1672, while his first child was born in 1673, it seems likely Beale is here referring to Glanvill. Beale-Wase_19/2/1672_fol.22r-23r.
101. AAC74_WingA3540A_10. This work was evidently written in response to: Andrew Marvell, *The Rehearsall Transpros'd the Second Part: Occasioned by Two Letters, the First Printed by a Nameless Author, Intituled a Reproof, &c: The Second Letter Left for Me at a Friends House, Dated Nov. 3, 1673, Subscribed J.G. and Concluding with These Words; If Thou Darest to Print or Publish any Lie or Libel against Doctor Parker, by the Eternal God I Will Cut Thy Throat* (London, 1673). Cf. Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956, 34–35.
 102. This first publication was incomplete. Arpad Steiner, “A Mirror for Scholars of the Baroque,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 1.3 (1940): 322.
 103. Morhof visited London in 1670 while Leibniz visited in January–February 1673. Both met with Robert Boyle and other members of the Society. Leibniz was himself elected as a Fellow in 1673. Blackwell, “The Logic,” 92; Maria Rosa Antognazza, *Leibniz: An Intellectual Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 149.
 104. Leibniz-Thomasius_[20/30]/4/1669_1:23–38 (Latin). Leibniz-Thomasius_[20/30]/4/1669_93–103 (English).
 105. Leibniz-Spitzel_[7/17]/4/1670_1:65–66; Lyndal Roper, *Witch Craze: Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2004), 188.
 106. Leibniz-Bose_[26 September/6 October] 1670_1:102–104.
 107. Leibniz-Conring_8/2/1671_1:129–134.
 108. This report is a supplement included with a letter from Leibniz to the Leopold I, Holy Roman Emperor, 18 November 1669. “Leibniz für den Kaiser, de scopo et usu nuclei librarii semestris,” in *Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. Allgemeiner, Politischer und Historischer Briefwechsel*, ed. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Darmstadt: Otto Reichl Verlag, 1923), 1:26.
 109. Leibniz describes the work to Conring, then notes that examples of the work were expected to arrive in the near future (*cujus exemplum propediem expecto*). Leibniz-Conring_8/2/1671_1:133. We cannot confirm that he had seen a copy before Oldenburg sent Leibniz an account for several books, including the *Plus ultra*, see: Oldenburg-Leibniz_[24 April/4 May] 1671_1:150–51.
 110. Leroy E. Loemker, ed., *Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Philosophical Papers and Letters*, 2nd ed. (Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company, c1969), 221.
 111. Gottfried Leibniz, “Guilielmi pacidii *Plus ultra*. Ad praefationem et partitionem,” in *Leibniz-Forschungsstelle der Universität Münster*, ed. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. *Philosophische Schriften* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1999), 4:677–679.
 112. Steneck, “Ballad”; Reichert, “Glanvill’s *Plus ultra*,” 49.
 113. ‘Stubbii librum contra Societatem Anglicam et Spratium nondum vidi. Fortasse nec vidisse refert, si contentiosus est.’ Welsch-Leibniz_4/1672_1:333.
 114. It is commonly accepted that Sprat’s *History* was commissioned in response to Continental interest in and criticism of the Royal Society. Philip Beeley, “Eine Geschichte zweier Städte. Wallis, Wilkins und der Streit um die Wahren ursprünge der Royal Society,” *Acta historica Leopoldina* 49(2008): 135–162.
 115. Gottfried Leibniz, “Marii Nizolii de veris principiis et vera ratione philosophandi contra pseudophilosophos, ed. G.G.L.L. (Frankfurt, 1670),” in *Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. Philosophische Schriften*, ed. Leibniz-Forschungsstelle der Universität Münster (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1966), 2:433.
 116. Christia Mercer, “Leibniz and His Master: The Correspondence with Jakob Thomasius,” in *Leibniz and His Correspondents*, ed. Paul Lodge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 10, 31ff. For the full text see: Leibniz-Thomasius_

- [20/30]/4/1669_1:23–28 (Latin). Leibniz-Thomasius_[20/30]/4/1669_93–103 (English).
117. Leibniz-Thomasius_[20/30]/4/1669_1:23–24, 42 (Latin). Leibniz-Thomasius_[20/30]/4/1669_93 (English).
 118. Mercer, “Leibniz and His Master,” 10, 31–36.
 119. Leibniz-Thomasius_[20/30]/4/1669_1:23–24 (Latin). Leibniz-Thomasius_[20/30]/4/1669_93 (English). Cf. Mercer, “Leibniz and His Master,” 31.
 120. PU68_WingG820.
 121. Leibniz, “Guilielmi pacidii *Plus ultra*,” 4:677.
 122. Morhof, *Polyhistor*, Volume II: Book II, Chapter 1, §13 (misnumbered paragraph 11 in this edition), Page 136.
 123. John Wallis, “A Letter of Dr. John Wallis to Robert Boyle Esq, concerning the Said Doctor’s Essay of Teaching a Person Dumb and Deaf to Speak . . .” *Philosophical Transactions* 5 (1670).
 124. Morhof, *Polyhistor*, Volume II: Book I, Chapter 6, Pages 29–31 and Volume II, Book II, Chapter 9, Pages 195–197.
 125. ‘Eodem modo Societas Angliæ Regia Omnia illa seponit præjudicia veteris Physicæ, ut certas conclusiones inveniatur & demonstret.’ *Polyhistor*, Volume II: Book I, Chapter 6, §1, 31. This is reiterated in a later chapter when Morhof writes ‘Scripsit JOSEPHUS GLANVIL Anglica lingua skepsin scientificam, Londini A. 1665 in 4to excusam, qua omnem doctrinam dogmaticam impugnat, eamque vanam esse & ignorantia matrem, ostendit. Idem & consilium Societatis Regiæ Anglicæ, nulla principia Physica agnoscentis, nisi quæ experientia comprobavit; quod vel Symbolo illo suo: Nullius in verba, ostendit.’ Morhof, *Polyhistor*, Volume II: Book II, Chapter 9, §2, Page 196.
 126. Morhof, *Polyhistor*, Volume II: Book II, Chapter 9, §2, Page 196.
 127. William Temple, *Miscellanea. In Four Essays . . . The Second Part* (London, 1690).
 128. Jones, *The Seventeenth Century*, 25–33. Cf. Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956, 24 n.71.
 129. Thomas Pope Blount, *Essays on Several Subjects* (London, 1692), 118. Compare this to: PU68_WingG820_48–49.
 130. PU68_WingG820_10, 15, 49, 73, 38–46; Jones, *The Seventeenth Century*, 29–30. These references can be compared to: William Wotton, *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (London, 1694), 170, 176, 241, 257.
 131. Jones, *The Seventeenth Century*, 30.
 132. Wotton, *Reflections*, 4, 175, 195.
 133. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 3:1083.
 134. Merret, *A Short Reply*, 26.

7 Preaching Science

The Promotion of Experimental Philosophy through Glanvill's Sermons and Pastoral Care

That there is nothing tends more to the undermining and supplanting the humour of Disputing, than the Experimental and Free Philosophy. For this inlargeth the Mind, and gives it a prospect of the vastness of things, and the imperfections of our Knowledge, the Difficulties that are to be incountred in the search of Truth, and our liableness to deception, the stumbles of Confidence, the prejudices of Education, the shortness of our Senses, the precipitancy of our Understandings, and the malign influence of our Affections . . . He entertains what he finds reasonable, and suspends his judgment when he doth not clearly understand. This is the Spirit with which men are inspired by the Philosophy I recommend. It makes them so just, as to allow that liberty of judgment to others, which themselves desire, and so prevents all imperious Dictates and Imposings, all captious Quarrels and Notional Wars.¹

—Joseph Glanvill

Many historians have studied the popularization of natural understandings of phenomena throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The new naturalized explanations for comets, lightning, and diseases like smallpox are portrayed as a series of triumphant moments for science in its battle against superstition. It is also widely accepted that natural theologians, some of who were also clergymen, played an important part in the dissemination of these naturalized explanations and therefore in the renegotiation of the boundaries between religion and science.² This area of study was inspired by the Merton thesis which suggested that post-Reformation Christianity, and Calvinism in particular, encouraged the development of scientific enquiry. However, it was also inspired by the later responses which showed that the reality was often much less definitive.³ Indeed, accusations that the new science would lead to atheism and the downfall of religion were regularly levelled at proponents of mechanical and experimental philosophy during the seventeenth century. These accusations were *not* reserved for the staunchly materialistic claims of men like Thomas Hobbes. Despite attempts from several Fellows to distance the Society's activities from theological arguments, the Society as a whole was regularly accused of atheism—an issue which is central to Glanvill's work.⁴

Scientific ideas seem to have been more successfully communicated to the broader community by natural theologians and public platforms, such as the Boyle Lectures, which actively sought to marry scientific theories (i.e. naturalized explanations) with theological doctrine.⁵ This chapter explores the role of Glanvill's sermons and pastoral care in the dissemination of the experimental method and the new scientific outlook to a broader audience. Glanvill's relationship with Mary Somerset provides a case study which demonstrates the potential impact of this work. By examining Glanvill's use of his epistemological method and tracing the influence of his natural philosophical beliefs in his surviving sermons and essays, this chapter argues that by the late seventeenth century, at least one English minister was actively disseminating scientific modes of thought to his parishioners in a way that contributed to the community's willingness and ability to accept naturalized explanations of phenomena and the findings of experimental methods.

Preaching Science and the Science of Preaching

Many studies have shown that different modes of performance were instrumental in the dissemination of the scientific outlook and naturalized explanations of specific phenomena. For example, Leigh Schmidt explored the dramatic role ventriloquists in eighteenth-century New England played in debunking the superstitious belief that ventriloquism involved the conjuration of spirits.⁶ Similarly, Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park explored the gradual desensitisation of the general population to the idea of miraculous wonders during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They argued that the rapid publication of pamphlets containing unfulfilled prophecies and omens, and their appropriation for political purposes, led people to question the whether these events were truly examples of divine intervention.⁷ By contrast, Françoise Deconinck-Brossard assigned sermons a dual role in both spreading and hindering the public acceptance of new scientific outlooks. He argued that eighteenth-century sermons hindered this process by maintaining a providential interpretation of phenomena while in this process helping to spread naturalized understandings of disasters such as earthquakes, plagues and fires.⁸ Further extending this work, scholars such as Matthew Stanley and Ciaran Toal explore the role of sermons in the dissemination of scientific knowledge, outlooks and methodology among the general population in the nineteenth century.⁹ This chapter builds on these studies, exploring how Glanvill, as a well-recognized preacher and propagandist for the Royal Society, used his sermons and essays to disseminate the Royal Society's experimental method.

Glanvill provides a solid case study through which to examine how the rhetoric of sermons, tried and tested throughout the English Reformation and Civil War, was employed to counteract the widespread suspicion of the "new science".¹⁰ The stated intention of the *Plus ultra* was to educate its

audience about the virtue of the Society's rational mode of thought; however, Glanvill also emphasized its benefits for the mental and religious health of individuals and of the community at large.¹¹ By examining key essays and sermons from Glanvill's published corpus, this chapter clarifies how Glanvill thought scientific training nurtured Christian virtues¹² and how he converted his philosophical method into practical advice in his sermons, including those he dedicated to the Somerset family. Mary Somerset, Marchioness of Worcester and soon to be first Duchess of Beaufort, became both Glanvill's patron and a skilled botanist.¹³ Somerset's relationship with Glanvill demonstrates how his positive view of science was embraced by this member of his congregation, and suggests the broader influence exerted by Glanvill's epistemological method and experimental philosophy through his sermons and pastoral care.

Glanvill's earnest belief that Christian religion encouraged and was reinforced by rational thought, reason and empirical science, the chief pursuit of a 'rational mind', is also evident in several of his works promoting and defending experimental philosophy, as has already been discussed.¹⁴ However, science also influenced Glanvill's theology and views on preaching. This influence is explicitly observed in two publications of 1678, *An Essay concerning Preaching Written for the Direction of a Young Divine, and Useful Also for the People in Order to Profitable Hearing* and the dialogue *A Seasonable Defence of Preaching and the Plain Way of It*. In these works Glanvill advises that sermons, like science, should be practical, presenting 'Pious Doctrines, Practicable Directions, and Forcible Motives' that promote the living of a 'good and holy life'. Furthermore, he argues that sermons should be delivered in a style that is also plain, methodical and affectionate, so as to best reach the 'meer common sort' or those of 'ordinary capacity'. Nevertheless, Glanvill argues, the preacher should likewise 'represent the Reasonableness of Religion', so that people will 'know upon what grounds they stand' rather than rely on 'custome, and . . . tradition'. Understanding the reasoning behind a practice or belief enables the parishioner 'to give an account' of a matter 'to those that ask them' and 'secure themselves from the pretences and temptations of seducing spirits'.¹⁵ In contrast to Henry Stubbe, who described experimental philosophy as 'a sort of knowledge which is unnecessary in a Divine', Glanvill argued that in order to achieve these standards, preachers themselves require training in philosophy, as this will enable them to effectively 'define' and 'distribute conceptions into their right places', and 'speak intelligently', getting right to 'the bottom of things'.¹⁶ These skills enable ministers to better perform their crucial role: 'exciting good thoughts and desires' in the community just 'as Satan doth evil ones . . . defending us . . . from the power and subtilty of that enemy'.¹⁷ However, Glanvill's beliefs about the relationship between reason and religion go well beyond enabling the construction of effective and compelling sermons.

The Relationship of Reason to Religion

In one sense Glanvill relates reason to religion on a basic and fundamental level that applies to all varieties of people when he surmises that ‘the grand cause of mens sins and neglects is inconsideration’.¹⁸ Reason was after all, he states, ‘bestowed upon us’ to enable people ‘to judge and discourse about things that are serious’, including religion and the contemplation of the fate of one’s soul; for whether religion is ‘true or not, ’tis a serious thing’.¹⁹ The importance of reason even features in one of Glanvill’s most devout texts, the highly popular public letter to his parishioners, *An Earnest Invitation to the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper* (1673).²⁰ In this work, he advises his flock to ‘do all thou canst by Reason and Religion, by the Considerations of Duty and of Interest, to fix thy soul’.²¹

Glanvill explores the relationship between reason and religion from philosophical and theological perspectives in many of his works. Two of the foremost were published in the collection entitled *Essays on Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion* and dedicated to Henry Somerset, then third Marquess of Worcester, in 1676. Of the seven essays contained in this volume the essays of greatest relevance are the fourth essay, “The Usefulness of Philosophy to Theology”, which is a reworking of the *Philosophia pia* (1671), and the fifth essay, “The Agreement of Reason and Religion”, an edited version of the *Logou threskeia, or, A Seasonable Recommendation and Defence of Reason in the Affairs of Religion against Infidelity* (1670), which was originally composed as a Visitation Sermon. The central argument of both essays is that reason is ‘the very Corner Stone of Religion’.²²

Glanvill explains the relationship of reason to religion by stipulating that there are two paths to knowledge of the divine: there are some truths one discerns through reason, and others that are revealed through scriptural revelation.²³ These two paths are not mutually exclusive and Glanvill believes that confident faith in many truths requires verification of doctrine through *both* reason and revelation. Under this presumption, Glanvill maintained that reason guards people against fraudulent revelations and counters ‘ignorant superstition’, melancholic delusions, and potential errors that arise because of the openness of the Scriptures to interpretation.²⁴ Therefore, in matters of revealed doctrine, such as Transubstantiation or the Trinity, Glanvill suggests that reason enables the Anglican to evaluate the evidence for that doctrine and determine which should be believed and which should not. For example, Glanvill defines faith in general as ‘the belief of a Testimony’ and ‘Divine Faith [as] the belief of a Divine Testimony’.²⁵ He suggests that using the techniques recommended for the evaluation of testimonial evidence, one can assess the strength of the testimony provided by the Scriptures or the Church Fathers, just as one would evaluate reports of the existence of ‘such a place as China; or that there was such a man as Julius Caesar’.²⁶ Accordingly, those who seek to improve the strength of their faith

should 'implore new aid, and fortifie thy self with more considerations'. In summation, Glanvill sought to 'teach the way to heaven by Philosophy'.²⁷

Indeed, Glanvill presents several methods for evaluating scriptural accounts using reason. In some cases, a story's plausibility can be proved, as in the case of Noah's ark, by using mathematical models and knowledge of the natural world (in this case the numbers of various species) to demonstrate that it would be possible to build an ark which could hold two of all the animals on Earth.²⁸ In other cases, some biblical statements can be considered misleading. By way of example, Glanvill explains that the passages which seemingly contradict the 'Motion of the Earth; and Terrestrial Nature of the Moon' by referring to the 'running of the Sun, and its standing still', can be readily and logically interpreted as statements designed to accommodate the senses and the 'common apprehension' of people from that earlier time.²⁹ In a slightly different example, one sermon presents a simplified argument based on a technique using knowledge of Greek language *and* philosophy to determine whether the original Greek phrasing referred to the Resurrection of a complete physical body at the last judgement.³⁰

Glanvill's methods of analysing doctrine were also connected with his argument for witchcraft through the role of testimonial evidence. One version of his argument for the existence of a life after death, for example, is based on the premise that the 'cold Russian, and scorch'd Moor; the barbarous American, and spruce Graecian, the soft Chinese, and the rough Tartar, though vastly different in all other things . . . agree in this, That there is another world, and that we are immortal'. Glanvill attributes this confirmation that such belief in life after death reaches 'the farthest darkest parts of the habitable Earth' to 'latter improvements of Navigation, and remote discoveries'. He then uses the same testimonial logic that he applies to the existence of witchcraft, arguing that 'it is not morally possible, that those who are at so vast a distance in place, and nature, and all other circumstances, should agree in a common deceit, and jump in the same imposture'.³¹

Glanvill also argues that philosophical training instils an increased awareness of the nature of the Scriptures and how to most safely interpret them. Therefore, when people encounter less readily understood phenomena, like the claim that Moses turned his staff into a snake, they are in a better position to judge whether or not to interpret the accounts literally. Conversely, when the usefulness of reason to religion is denied, as by the papists, one can be swayed to many false beliefs. So Glanvill explains that the grievous error of Catholic belief in Transubstantiation is maintained only because 'Peronius, Gonterius, Arnoldus, Veronius and other Jesuites' have denounced any application of reason to matters of faith. Thus, according to Glanvill, the application of reason to religion enabled Protestant reformers to come to a more self-assured faith in the 'Authority of Scripture'³² and in turn discern confidently between false doctrines, such as Transubstantiation, and true biblical doctrines, such as the Trinity.³³ The numerous and varied applications of reason in support of revealed truths justified Glanvill's use of the

term “reason” to include all rational pursuits including philosophy, mathematics and natural philosophy.

On this basis, Glanvill forcefully argues that reason provides the very foundation of religion. He acknowledges that the majority of doctrines of faith are arrived at via revelation, and then verified and justified by reason. However, Glanvill’s logic dictates that knowledge of God’s existence must precede any faith in revelation, for it is only once ‘we are assured it is from God, or from some commissioned by him’, that one can be assured that there is any truth in the revealed words. Therefore, one cannot rely solely on the Scriptures, when seeking reasons to believe in God. Instead, one must turn *first* to reason.³⁴ Glanvill likens the process through which we identify the existence of the Divine to the way we arrive at understanding of invisible forces such as magnetism. That is, we observe with our senses the effect of the force, and then through a process of observation and rationalization, and through knowledge of the natural world, we eliminate all other possible causes. Through this method, Glanvill argues, we not only identify and prove the miraculous deeds of Christ and the Apostles as reported in Scripture, that is the most potent evidence of the existence of the Divine, but we also identify ‘the beauty, and order, and ends, and usefulness of the Creatures; for these are demonstrative Arguments of the Being of a wise and omnipotent Mind, that hath framed all things so regularly and exactly; and that Mind is God’.³⁵ That is, from the order and beauty of the universe, we can deduce the existence of a creator and the beneficence of his nature.³⁶ Glanvill is not the only advocate of Intelligent Design, even at this early time. However, with an unusual flourish Glanvill takes his belief in the intellectual and emotional benefits of rigorous scientific enquiry to yet another level.

Experimental Philosophy as Pastoral Care

Glanvill believes that a rigorous study of Nature empowers men’s minds and protects them from the ‘evil spirit’ of superstition by training and enlarging their intellect. Even more than this, he believes that the ‘Experimental Philosophy of God’s Works, is a Remedy,’ which protects the mind from arguments about insignificant points of doctrine and guides one to focus more faithfully on the ‘few, certain, operative Principles of the Gospel’.³⁷ This belief had its foundation in Glanvill’s well-recognized use of methodical doubt, which fostered the belief that scientific study emphasized the rarity of certainty, and his commitment to a Baconian emphasis on practical knowledge.³⁸ These epistemological proclivities account for both the appeals to logic and reason which typically preface his discussions of doctrinal issues and Glanvill’s tolerance and respect for particular nonconformist preachers.³⁹

Glanvill believed that the divisions between Protestant groups over minor points of doctrine had left Protestants open to criticism by their enemies,

especially papists. Yet he also maintained lifelong friendships with several nonconformist preachers such as Richard Baxter and Joseph Allein. In 1678, he drafted the impassioned work, *The Zealous and Impartial Protestant*, published posthumously in 1681. This work called for harsher penalties for nonconformists and religious dissenters such as Quakers, who he claimed made England vulnerable to both secular and moral incursions by papists.⁴⁰ Baxter expressed dismay at the publication of this work, even though he was specifically exempted from Glanvill's array of problematic dissenters.⁴¹

This impassioned invective was likely inspired, in part, by Glanvill's outrage over suggestions that Henry Somerset was harbouring in his household papists who were involved in the Popish Plot of 1678.⁴² Glanvill reported these rumours to the Marchioness.⁴³ However, while Glanvill argued that unlimited toleration was 'not the way',⁴⁴ he did not, as Baxter suggested, argue for compulsory acceptance of an Anglican orthodoxy vigorously enforced by law.⁴⁵ Glanvill berated both Presbyterians and Quakers for being 'severe Inquisitors into mens Opinions' and allowing 'no latitude of thinking beyond their dear Orthodoxy', a state that only engenders hate and exclusion. Instead, he argues, 'Liberty of Conscience must be given; there is no help for that; no power on Earth can invade it; for Liberty of Conscience is liberty of Practical judgment; and the freedom of that none can take away'. In order to accommodate this, the Church of England should embrace the fraught task of compromising with those sects that are 'of less malignant Principles . . . if reasonable Alterations and Compliances would gain them' in order that the Church of England might establish a strong religion capable of effectively protecting England and its monarchy from the threat of the papists. In contrast, Glanvill advises the more extreme dissenters, especially atheists and papists, should be punished like the enemies of 'Religion . . . all Governments, and Societies', which they are, and should be purged from the Assembly 'like dross, fit for no use, or rather, as what is most offensive, and destructive'.⁴⁶

However, *The Zealous and Impartial Protestant* was not necessarily such a significant departure from Glanvill's earlier outlook. In *An Essay concerning Preaching*, published with an imprimatur dated 6 December 1677, Glanvill advises that preachers should 'seek the peaceable principles, and walk in the charitable ways', but also:

go on, arm'd with the courage, and patience of the Gospel, and tell dividers their duty, and their sins, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear: and be instant in preaching of peace, and love, though we are torn in pieces for it.⁴⁷

Glanvill advocated for religious tolerance on the grounds that 'the great Truths of Religion are easily discernable, but the smaller, and remoter ones require more sagacity and acuteness to descry them; and [even] the best Light may be deceived about such obscure, and distant Objects'.⁴⁸ Furthermore,

he suggested that dogmatism only causes greater divisions, 'for when disputed things are adhered to as certain and necessary, Christian Charity will be destroyed, and all things at last disputed'.⁴⁹ Thus he writes:

The knowledge I teach is ignorance: and methinks the Theory of our own natures, should be enough to learn it us. We came into the world, and we know not how; we live in't in a self-nescience, and go hence again and are as ignorant of our recess.⁵⁰

These views remain essentially consistent with the path to unity through liberty, flexibility and accommodation described in *The Zealous and Impartial Protestant*. However, Baxter's report that Glanvill 'repented that he had written so much against the Reformers called Puritans' from his deathbed, suggests that Glanvill may well have regretted several of the more passionate statements made in this work.⁵¹

These views also demonstrate how Glanvill's advocacy of religious toleration was linked to his belief in human nescience and his sceptical and eclectic philosophical method. Just as he warned natural philosophers against *The Vanity of Dogmatizing*, he warns that when people are 'so excessively confident of the Truth, and Certainty of their Opinions' in matters of religion, they 'disturb Societies, and the Peace of mankind' as they begin to 'hate those that are not of . . . [their own] Perswasion; and . . . forsake a certain Duty for Doubtful Tenents'. With a monarch recognized as head of both Church and State, Glanvill's summation that religion, worldly Government and a society's health were 'bound up' together seems reasonable, even if his conclusion that those who scoffed at religion threatened to bring about the 'dissolution of humane Society' seems extreme.⁵²

Glanvill's tolerance always had its limit and he defined cases of more extreme logical error, such as religious enthusiasm, as a 'false conceit of Inspiration', a delusion caused by 'Excesses and Diseases of Imagination'.⁵³ Other moral conditions, Glanvill argued, result from humoural imbalance and these included Pharisaism or proud religion, papacy and atheism.⁵⁴ Glanvill claimed that the study of Nature combats such diseases in two ways. First, the rational way of thinking learnt through the study of Nature helps one determine what is real and what is but a 'fancy'. For example, despite the protestations of the papacy, the discoveries Galileo made through observation and the use of his telescope are to be trusted. Conversely, the premonitions made on the basis of the flight patterns of birds, or the 'mysterious Discoveries' an enthusiast believes have been revealed to him by the Holy Spirit during episodes of rapture and ecstasy, are not. Secondly, scientific training can 'alter the temper and disposition of the Mind' and thus protect one from the humoural distemper which makes one vulnerable to such delusions in the first place.⁵⁵ The 'high and intense exercise of our reasons' balances and regulates the passions which, when over excited by 'sense and bodily affections', lead to humoural disorders.⁵⁶

Melancholy and Dis-Ease of the Mind

The belief that enthusiasm was actually a humoural sickness is reiterated in several of Glanvill's other sermons published posthumously by Anthony Horneck in the collection entitled *Some Discourses, Sermons, and Remains of the Reverend Mr. Jos. Glanvil*.⁵⁷ A particularly explicit account of this phenomenon is found in the tenth sermon "The Various Methods of Satan's Policy detected", where Glanvill summarizes for the reader how an excess of each humour can lead to delusion or allow one to be manipulated by evil spirits who lure the unwary into false belief. He writes:

Thus when warm and brisk Sanguine presents a chearful Scene, and fills the imagination with pleasant dreams, these are taken for divine illapses, for the joys and incomes of the Holy Ghost. When heated melancholy hath kindled the busie and active fancy; the Enthusiast then talks of Illuminations, new Lights, Revelations, and many wonderful fine things, which are ascribed to the same Spirit. But when Flegm predominates, and quencheth the Fanastick Fire, rendering the man more dull, lumpish and unactive; then the Spirit is withdrawn, and the man [is] under spiritual darkness and desertion. And when again choler is boiled up into rage and fury, against every thing that is not of the Fantastick cut and measure, this also is presumed to be an holy fervour kindled by that Spirit, whose real fruits are Gentleness and Love.

Thus then doth the Devil devise to disgrace the Spirit of God and its influence, by those numerous, vile, and vain pretensions, which he thinks a likely means to extirpate the belief of the agency of the Spirit, and to render it ridiculous.⁵⁸

The dangers of failing to address these imbalances is keenly felt in Sermon III, first published as *A Loyal Tear Dropt on the Vault of Our Late Martyred Sovereign* (1667). Glanvill here uses an almost identical passage to explain how the anti-royalists were corrupted by these 'natural diseases' and deceived by their 'phansies' into ascribing to 'A Religion conceived in the Imagination and begot by Pride and Self-Love . . . under pretence of which, all reverence to things sacred was destroyed'.⁵⁹ Similarly, in the *Way of Happiness*, he describes humoural enthusiasm as caused by 'the natural Disorder and Rage of our Passions'.⁶⁰

This humoural enthusiasm is very similar to that proposed by Glanvill's friend and mentor Henry More. However, Glanvill's explanation of how an excess of *any* humour can lead to enthusiastic delusion distinguishes him from More, who expressly associated enthusiasm with excessive melancholy.⁶¹ Indeed, in emphasizing the mental health benefits of experimental training and laboratory discipline and their role in regulating and rebalancing the humours, Glanvill's work provided a bridge between the new science and the aims of More and the Cambridge Platonists. One of the

characteristics thought to connect this diverse group of philosophers was, according to Rosalie Colie, that they ‘attempted a reconciliation of those diverse elements of western thought and emotion appropriate, so they felt, to any world however changed from the one they knew’.⁶² A more extreme example of this humoural manipulation by malignant spirits is found in the numerous editions of Glanvill’s *Letter of Witchcraft*. Glanvill’s suggestion that many phenomena associated with witchcraft, including Sabbaths, night-flying and animal transformation, can be understood as the result of delusions and astral projections achieved through the familiar spirit’s manipulation of excess melancholy within the witch followed on from Glanvill’s PVH, as discussed in Chapter 4.⁶³ Indeed, Glanvill makes the connection between dissenters, especially atheists, enthusiasts and witches, quite explicit. He suggests that in succumbing to these humoural imbalances and the religious doubts they engendered, dissenters were serving the Devil’s ends.⁶⁴ He even extends this accusation to “the wits”, whose excessive passions cause them to ‘fight against Religion by scoffing and buffoonry’, becoming pawns in ‘the game the Devil seems to be playing in the present Age’.⁶⁵

There is a distinct difference between the demonic manipulations of humours described by the PVH, as Glanvill’s explanatory mechanism for diabolic witchcraft, and those described in his sermons. As the *Letter* is presented as a serious philosophical exercise with the aim of launching a legitimate empirical study of witchcraft, Glanvill avoids presenting his untested humoural hypothesis as fact.⁶⁶ In contrast, in his essays and sermons Glanvill regularly presents his humoural hypothesis with great authority and, what is more, this altered tone appears to be intentional. In his *Essay concerning Preaching* Glanvill advises that ‘We should not trouble our pulpits with Hypotheses of Philosophy or the heights of speculative Theology’ as ‘the generality are not capable of much theory’.⁶⁷ He recommends plainness in language and argument in sermons because even ‘the better Auditors cannot keep their minds so close, and intent, to a Discourse spoken, as to receive it in its full evidence, and power’.⁶⁸ Thus Glanvill opens *A Loyal Tear* with the unqualified observation that ‘there are some Ages and Times that are more infested with unhappy influences from the Heavens, and *noxious reeks* from the Earth, which by poysoning the Air, Roots, and Herbs, *propagate that deadly venome into mens bodies*’. Thus he describes the cause of the recent plague in London, noting how it is through similar means that ‘poysonous Doctrines from the Pulpit, and maligne humours in the Populace, infect the Publick Air, and spread a fatal Contagion into mens Principles and Manners’.⁶⁹ Similarly he argues in another sermon that the errors of the Catholic Church can be explained definitively by their vulnerability to the ‘various and uncertain . . . impulses of a private Spirit’. On account of this vulnerability, Catholic doctrines have been altered and changed on the whim of untempered minds whose beliefs and interpretations of Scripture have changed in line with the fluctuations of their ‘imagination and humour’. As expected, Glanvill contrasts this Catholic vulnerability with what he perceives as one

of the greatest strengths of the Church of England. He believes the members of the Church of England have, by the reasoning skills obtained through the studious investigation of Nature, secured 'the certainty of . . . Faith, by resolving it into the Scriptures' and identifying 'the true feats of Infallibility, and the belief of . . . that Testimony that God gave by his Spirit to Christ and his Apostles'.⁷⁰

The most significant challenge to Glanvill's claim that enthusiastic dissent was the result of delusions caused by physical humoural imbalance came not from a Catholic, but from the English nonconformist Robert Ferguson. Ferguson was incensed by Glanvill's suggestion that nonconformists were susceptible to errors because they did not apply sufficient reason to their assessment of doctrines.⁷¹ Glanvill's succinct response was printed as *An Account of Mr. Ferguson His Common-Place-Book* (1675) and involved a brief demonstration that 'this supposed Adversary' was actually 'a Friend'. Glanvill observed that Ferguson named him when he disagreed with Glanvill's statements, but then utilized several other passages from his works, in particular *The Vanity of Dogmatizing*, without citing him.⁷² However, Glanvill did not respond further himself, but left the task of a more substantive reply to others. Shortly after, his relative William Allen published his *Animadversions on That Part of Mr. Robert Ferguson's Book, Entituled, The Interest of Reason in Religion, Which Treats of Justification: In a Letter to a Friend* (1676), while William Sherlock produced the hefty work *A Defence and Continuation of the Discourse concerning the Knowledge of Jesus Christ . . .* (1675).⁷³

In essence, this discussion of enthusiasm, witchcraft and the humours amounts to a demonstration that Glanvill believed in a real and substantial connection between the spirit, the mind and the body. Additionally, he believed that a well-trained, logical mind acted as a counter-balance to the weaknesses of the flesh, protecting people from the distorted perceptions to which they were susceptible when their health, that is their body's humoural balance, was compromised.⁷⁴ This naturalized explanation of religious, political and social deviation allowed Glanvill to fully embrace both his religiosity and his keenness for scientific philosophy. True to his eclectic method, Glanvill developed this hypothesis by applying his understanding of the newest methodological theories to the moral and philosophical challenges he encountered while fulfilling his pastoral responsibilities. He then sought to verify his hypothesis with the 'Philosophical use of observation' of 'Domestick Lunaticks'. Very little is known about these activities, which included several probative 'sessions' with 'a poor Woman in the North, whose habitual conceit it was, That she was Mother of God, and of all things living', but Glanvill described them as contributions toward an 'Experimental Philosophy of our Natures'.⁷⁵ Although we have no further material on which to base any examination of these pursuits, these exploratory sessions lend a certain credibility to the analogy Redgrove has made between Glanvill's humoural explanations of emotional and mental states

and modern psychology.⁷⁶ Unfortunately, the lack of source material means that we cannot know whether these ‘sessions’ were directly related to his investigations into witchcraft.⁷⁷

Nevertheless, it is evident from these discussions of the effects of humoral imbalance that Glanvill believed modern observational and experimental methods of rational enquiry, and the state of mind (and body) which they engendered, provided not only the means to investigate such problems, but also a solution that he could offer his congregation. Therefore, Glanvill repeatedly advised his audiences, through essays and sermons, in both print and in person, that rational thought and empirical enquiry do not lead to arrogance and atheism.⁷⁸ Rather, the new methods of investigating Nature strengthen one’s faith and dispose one’s mind to ‘Vertue and Religion’. Should any doubt remain about the exact type of endeavour Glanvill intended to recommend, his audience was directed explicitly to ‘the ROYAL SOCIETY . . . the Great Body of Practical Philosophers’ to find ‘grand’ examples of exactly this honourable, Christian variety of ‘Philosophick Genius’.⁷⁹

Glanvill and Mary Somerset

Glanvill’s relationship with Mary Somerset, the third Marchioness of Worcester and later, Duchess of Beaufort, provides a case study which demonstrates how Glanvill disseminated the scientific ideals of the Royal Society beyond his typical intellectual circles, enabling us to assess the impact and success of his “scientifically minded” pastoral care. As recounted in greater detail in Chapter 1, by 1675 Somerset appeared to have descended into a significant bout of melancholy that had great impact on her wellbeing and ability to undertake her usual tasks.⁸⁰ At this time, Glanvill dedicated three volumes to the Somersets. In 1676 his volume of *Essays* was dedicated to Henry, the Marquess, and his volume of sermons, the *Seasonable Reflections*, to Mary, the Marchioness. The following year, he also dedicated a new printing of his popular work, *The Way of Happiness*, to Charles, also known as Lord Herbert, the couple’s eldest son.⁸¹ Charles corresponded with Henry Oldenburg for several years and in 1673, at the tender age of thirteen, was the youngest nominee to become a Fellow, a distinction he still holds today.⁸² Glanvill dedicated this 1677 edition to Charles, ostensibly to congratulate him on this ‘early Fame’.⁸³

However, these volumes were more than samples of Glanvill’s work designed to flatter or familiarise potential patrons with his corpus. These were prescriptive texts designed to provide advice on living well and attaining peace and happiness. Indeed, Glanvill wrote in the preface to the *Essays* that they were designed to ‘lay a foundation for a good habit of thoughts’.⁸⁴ Then in the title of the work dedicated to Mary Somerset, he referred to the *Seasonable Reflections* expressly as a ‘Cure’. He also noted that he compiled these sermons specifically because he was informed ‘that the seasonableness of the

Subjects may render them of use'. The subjects of the sermons include: assurance that 'Heaven and the happiness of another world, were only feign'd to support their spirits, that want the comforts of this [belief]'; the true source of religious doubt; and Christ's assurance that even a woman who had had 'seven husbands' would not be conflicted at the Resurrection, as once in this angelic state, people will no longer marry or be married.⁸⁵ *The Way of Happiness*, presented to the family in the following year, then built on these comforting assurances:

To have overcome the outward acts of sin, is a beginning in our spiritual warfare; but our chief enemies are the habits; these must be attempted also, but with Prudence; wild Beasts are not to be dealt with by main strength; Art and Stratagem must be used in this War; and 'tis good policy, I think here, to fight the least powerful foes first, then contracted habits, before we fall on the inbred natural Inclinations. While our forces are weak, 'tis dangerous setting upon the strongest holds . . .⁸⁶

Thus, all three of these volumes share a common theme, addressing the restoration of faith and mental/spiritual health that was of particular relevance to Mary Somerset's situation. These works explained the relationship between excessive melancholy and vulnerability to spiritual attacks that prompt any number of destructive behaviours including enthusiasm, fanaticism, atheism, susceptibility to witchcraft and, most importantly, religious doubt and emotional dis-ease. The works also offered advice about how scientific training and enquiry into the natural world, specifically using the methods advocated by the Royal Society, could help overcome such conditions. How training the mind in rational analysis, collaboration and evidence-based interpretation of the natural world could develop skills which would enable the melancholic to resist or break the hold of such delusions. In short, Glanvill presented scientific training as an effective remedy for the melancholic state.

Glanvill's teaching evidently resonated with Somerset, who had concluded during this period, that her malady was spiritual in nature. In the few documents that survive from this time, Somerset describes herself as feeling emotionally 'dead' and prays for God to come to her as '[her] soul thirsteth for thee as ground [for] water'.⁸⁷ In an attempt to overcome her melancholy Somerset capitalized on her childhood fascination with plants and began collecting specimens for exotic botanical remedies, often growing them herself from seeds and cuttings.⁸⁸ However, between 1675 and 1680, Somerset's interest in plants developed into something more. It seems that under the Glanvill's guidance, Somerset's search for a botanical remedy for her condition inspired an undertaking that would soon produce one of the finest living botanical collections in England. Somerset seems to have acted on Glanvill's advice and her botanical and horticultural pursuits also became increasingly academic in nature as she developed working relationships with

the FRS Hans Sloane and Jacob Bobart, superintendent of the Physic Garden and professor of Botany at Oxford University and the Royal College of Physicians.⁸⁹ Furthermore, in the letter of 1678 previously described, Mary passed on Glanvill's report that rumours were circulating about Henry's involvement in the Popish Plot. Although only brief, this exchange confirms that Somerset remained in contact with Glanvill and that he was a trusted friend.⁹⁰

Somerset's salvation through botanizing has previously been loosely connected to the Calvinist notion that while some people were well suited to finding God through the Scriptures, God had also given mankind the Book of Nature so that people of certain dispositions could find closeness to God through the study of natural history.⁹¹ Glanvill's works provide a more direct link between Somerset and this outlook. In his sermon *Catholick Charity* (1669) Glanvill proposes that love is the 'most excellent' and 'most Catholick grace . . . the very Spirit of our dear Lord'. He then advises that the first step toward attaining this 'excellent and Catholick Temper' is acknowledging the worth in all men and things including:

the Paint upon the Butter-flies wing . . the glorious uniform lustre of the Sun . . . the composure of the little Ant . . . the vast Bodies of the Whale, or Elephant . . . the least Herb under our feet, as well as . . . the Stupendous Fabrick of the Heavens over us: And moral perfections are to be acknowledg'd, as well as these natural ones.⁹²

Such appreciation fosters an 'intellectual love' for God, a kind of love which does not corrupt the 'passions in wicked men'.⁹³

In following Glanvill's pastoral advice, Somerset was drawn to the practice of botanizing, and in this choice she foreshadowed a late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century trend that saw women encouraged to return to their 'natural' area of study.⁹⁴ The Romantics thought that by engaging in botanizing, a lady would become more 'favourable to reflection', as 'dispassionate reflection will turn anger into pity, and lend to sorrow itself a patience from which it may extract some portion of sweetness'.⁹⁵ Given how this revised attitude inverts the traditional witchcraft stereotype, which associated the use of herbs with witchcraft, the relationship between Glanvill and Somerset provides an interesting transitional example that will potentially be integral to future study of this conceptual shift. More immediately, the nature of Glanvill's relationship with the Somersets throughout the 1670s, the career advancements he was granted through their favour and the generous provisions they made for the wellbeing of his children support the notion that Glanvill's advice was welcome, even if not definitively responsible for Somerset's recovery.⁹⁶

Glanvill's religiosity has created doubts about his motivations and efficacy as a proponent of the new science in much of the scholarship on his work

from the last two centuries.⁹⁷ However, considering the strength of the preaching tradition to which Glanvill was committed, it is also possible that his role as an active preaching minister actually gave him an advantage in this regard. Glanvill's pastoral roles ensured he was in a prime position to disseminate scientific ideas to the wider population and to help combat the negative charges of materialism and atheism which were regularly levelled against the Royal Society as a whole, and its individual members.⁹⁸ Glanvill's ability to disseminate ideas to a broad audience through his preaching is demonstrated by the dedicatory epistle in the 1680 edition of *An Earnest Invitation to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, in which he informs the Bishop of Bath and Wells that he drew more than 800 of the 1,100 communicable parishioners in his city to Easter Communion.⁹⁹ Furthermore, his collections of essays and sermons show that Glanvill sought to use this form of media to its full effect in order to disseminate his experimental ideals and belief in the value of scientific endeavour to a wider audience not necessarily reached by printed works. Although many of his ideals no longer meet our society's scientific standards, Glanvill's relationship with Mary Somerset demonstrates the practical impact of his ministerial and pastoral activities in influencing the gradual acceptance of experimental science within the broader society.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

1. PU68_WingG820_146–148.
2. For the examples of Cotton Mather, Thomas Prince and Charles Chauncy, see: David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers, eds, *When Science & Christianity Meet* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 270–271.
3. For good introductory discussions of Robert Merton's work and supporting theorists such as Peter Berger, see: Alister McGrath, *Christianity's Dangerous Idea: The Origin and Transformation of Protestantism* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2007), 374–377. Cf. Robert Merton, "Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth Century England," *Osiris* 4 (1938): 360–632.
4. Mark Noll, "Evangelicals, Creation, and Scripture: Legacies from a Long History," *Perspectives on Science and Christian Faith* 63.3 (2011): 149. For a summary of a debate on this very matter, which included Glanvill specifically, see: Lewis, *Origenian Platonisme*, 286–287 n.95. Cf. Chapter 6.
5. The Boyle Lectures were instituted in 1691 after Robert Boyle left a bequest for their foundation. Lindberg and Numbers, *When Science*, 80.

6. Leigh Schmidt, "From Demon Possession to Magic Show: Ventriloquism, Religion, and the Enlightenment," *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 67.2 (1998): 274–304.
7. Daston and Park, *Order of Nature*. Cf. Alexandra Walsham, "Miracles in Post-Reformation England," in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, ed. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 2005), 273–306.
8. François Deconinck-Brossard, "Acts of God, Acts of Men: Providence in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century England and France," in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, ed. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 2005), 356–375.
9. Matthew Stanley, "By Design: James Clerk Maxwell and the Evangelical Unification of Science," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 164 (2012): 57–74; Ciaran Toal, "Preaching at the British Association for the Advancement of Science: Sermons, Secularization and the Rhetoric of Conflict in the 1870s," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 164(2012): 75–96.
10. Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough, eds, *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600–1750* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), esp. Chapter 9; Joris van Eijnatten, ed., *Preaching, Sermon and Cultural Change in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009), esp. parts I–II.
11. PU68_WingG820_sig.B3r-B5r. Note especially Glanvill's attribution of John Beale's good health to his intellectual activity.
12. The majority of Glanvill's published sermons engage specifically with the usefulness of science to religion. However, since Glanvill's practice was to preach to his congregation personally at least twice a week, this corpus only represents a fraction of his sermons. EI80_WingG804A_sig.A5r. Cf. SDP78_WingG829_5.
13. Davies, "Botanizing at Badminton."
14. SS65_WingG827; PU68_WingG820; PP71_WingG817; LT70_WingG812.
15. ECP78_WingG808_28, 31–32, 245; SDP78_WingG829_3, 41, 47, 82, 107.
16. Stubbe, *Specimen of Some Animadversions*, 28; ECP78_WingG808_75.
17. SR76_WingG830_21.
18. SDP78_WingG829_17.
19. SR76_WingG830_1:31, 38, 3:128–129.
20. The work went through four editions in Glanvill's lifetime and at least six posthumous editions. The four editions Glanvill published were: EI73_WingG802; EI74_WingG803; EI77_WingG804; EI80_WingG804A.
21. EI80_WingG804A_111.
22. Essays76_WingG809_V:7(4). For a table showing which essays and sermons were published in more than one place see Table 6.
23. Essays76_WingG809_V:9(4).
24. Glanvill, "The Usefulness of Philosophy to Theology," Essays76_WingG809_IV:13, 18(3). Cf. WOH77_WingG836_11.
25. WOH77_WingG836_26. Discourses81_WingG831_IX:364–365.
26. Essays76_WingG809_V:10(4). Cf. Chapter 4.
27. WOH77_WingG836_47, 115.
28. Essays76_WingG809_V:11(4).
29. Essays76_WingG809_IV:36(3). On this provisional interpretation of the Bible, Glanvill maintains the standard line fundamental to Protestant reform, see: McGrath, *Christianity's Dangerous Idea*, 377.
30. SR76_WingG830_3:115–116. For further discussion of the Resurrection and Glanvill's proof that this doctrine 'is no panick fear, or melancholy dream' see: SR76_WingG830_4:167.

31. SR76_WingG830_3:139–141.
32. Essays76_WingG809_V:10–11(4), 26–8(4).
33. Despite Glanvill's confidence, heterodoxy did become relatively common among natural philosophers in the seventeenth century, perhaps the most famous example being Newton's, albeit very private, rejection of the Trinity. McGrath, *Christianity's Dangerous Idea*, 376.
34. Essays76_WingG809_V:7(4). Cf. Discourses81_WingG831_IX:345.
35. Essays76_WingG809_V:7(4).
36. Essays76_WingG809_IV:6–8(3). Cf. SR76_WingG830_3:124–128.
37. Essays76_WingG809_IV:14(3).
38. Essays76_WingG809_IV:14(3); Blackwell, "The Logic"; van Leeuwen, *Problem of Certainty*, 71–90.
39. As noted in Chapter 3, Glanvill's practice of associating his approach with contemporary epistemological standards is particularly notable in the preface to the *Lux orientalis*, in which he claims to be presenting the first complete and logically sound argument for the pre-existence of the soul: LO82_WingG833.
40. ZIP81_WingG837_10, 24–35. Cf. Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956, 10, 39. For date of composition see: Lewis, *Origenian Platonisme*, 287.
41. ZIP81_WingG837_13, 19; Richard Baxter, *A Second True Defence of the Meer Nonconformists* (London, 1681), 174–176.
42. McClain, *Beaufort*, 136–143.
43. M.Somerset-H.Somerset_[1678]_6.
44. ZIP81_WingG837_26.
45. Baxter, *Second True Defence*, 176.
46. ZIP81_WingG837_4–7, 25–26, 31–33, 44–45.
47. ECP78_WingG808_33–35.
48. CC69_WingG801_18–19.
49. SDP78_WingG829_83. Cf. SR76_WingG830_2:68; ZIP81_WingG837_7.
50. CC69_WingG801_33.
51. Baxter, *Second True Defence*, 174.
52. CC69_WingG801_19–20; SR76_WingG830_1:31–32. ZIP81_WingG837_1–3. Glanvill made similar accusations against the Sadducees. SR76_WingG830_3:156.
53. Essays76_WingG809_IV:17(3). Cf. SR76_WingG830_3:150–151; ZIP81_WingG837_10, 24–25, 34.
54. SR76_WingG830_2:61–62, 93–95; ZIP81_WingG837_24–25.
55. Essays76_WingG809_IV:14–18(3).
56. SR76_WingG830_3:129–135.
57. Discourses81_WingG831_III:177–179, X:384–387, XI:418–419. Four of the sermons in this work previously appeared in SR76_WingG830 or as independent published works. The details have been included in Table 6.
58. Discourses81_WingG831_X:386–387. Though less fully described, the same understanding of the root of enthusiasm is also expressed in other sermons and essays. See: Essays76_WingG809_IV:18–19(3). Cf. SR76_WingG830_1:18.
59. LTD67_WingG813A_28–31; Discourses81_WingG831_III:178–181.
60. WOH77_WingG836_13, 91–93.
61. More, *Enthusiasmus triumphatus*, 1656, esp. 10, 14–15. Cf. Daniel Fouke, *The Enthusiastical Concerns of Dr. Henry More: Religious Meaning and the Psychology of Delusion* (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1997), esp. 119–121.
62. Colie, *Light and Enlightenment*, xi.
63. BMS68_WingG800_18–20; ST81_WingG822_16–17(2).
64. SR76_WingG830_2:61–62, 65. Cf. SR76_WingG830_1:60, 3:147.
65. SR76_WingG830_1:5, 17, 23. Cf. SR76_WingG830_2:60.
66. See Chapter 4. Cf. Davies, "Poisonous Vapours," 167–169.

67. ECP78_WingG808_19. Glanvill notes that by ‘avoiding hard words, and senseless phrases, and speaking in the proper, natural, easie way,’ a sermon will be ‘most profitable for the ignorant, and most accepable [sic] with the wise.’ SR76_WingG830_2:103. Cf. EI80_WingG804A_5.
68. EI80_WingG804A_3.
69. LTD67_WingG813A_1; Discourses81_WingG831_III:151–152.
70. Discourses81_WingG831_XI:419–420. Cf. ZIP81_WingG837_10.
71. Robert Ferguson, *The Interest of Reason in Religion With the Import & Use of Scripture-Metaphors, and the Nature of the Union betwixt Christ & Believers* (London, 1675), esp. 7–9, 203–204, 276.
72. AMrF75_WingG798_esp. 3–7.
73. William Allen, *Animadversions on That Part of Mr. Robert Ferguson’s Book Entitled The Interest of Reason in Religion Which Treats of Justification: in a Letter to a Friend* (London, 1676), esp. 7–9. Allen indicates he was responsible for the first publication of Glanvill’s *Way of Happiness* in his address to the reader which prefaces the first edition: WOH70_WingG835. Glanvill then informs us that Allen was a ‘near relative’ in the later edition: WOH77_WingG836_sig.A6r. The letters Glanvill published as AMrF75_WingG798 indicate that Glanvill and Sherlock were also in correspondence.
74. Essays76_WingG809_IV:40, 25(3). The belief that intellectual training could be proscribed as a remedy to these conditions also distinguishes his theory from More’s who acknowledges improved reason as an effect of healing, but who proscribes more traditional physical-based remedies and prayer to bring about the healing. See: Henry More, “*Enthusiasmus triumphatus*; or, A Brief Discourse of Enthusiasm,” in More, *A Collection*, 1712, 1, 38(2). Cf. Fouke, *Enthusiastical Concerns*, 121–123. Beale evidently agrees, supporting Glanvill’s referral of an unidentified young Quaker boy to Oldenburg for tutelage. Beale-Oldenburg_1/6/1667_3:425.
75. Essays76_WingG809_IV:19–20(3).
76. Redgrove, *Glanvill*, 30.
77. Similarly, it is possible the “North” Glanvill refers to is Scotland, as the *Way of Happiness* sermon was first preached there. WOH70_WingG835_sig.A6r. However, with only this brief description to go on, there is no readily obvious connection between this work and Boyle’s investigations into Scottish second sight or George Sinclair’s interest in Glanvill’s work as outlined in Chapter 8.
78. Arrogance and atheism only occur when one places too much confidence in philosophy, an error that only those with lax method fall prey to. Essays76_WingG809_V:17–18(4).
79. Essays76_WingG809_IV:27, 40(3).
80. McClain, *Beaufort*, 89, 118–120.
81. WOH77_WingG836. See Chapter 1 for details of all five editions.
82. Though formally nominated by John Hoskins, Charles’s fellowship was evidently the result of negotiations undertaken by his tutor, Edward Chamberlayne. The Royal Society, “Somerset, Charles (1660–1698), Marquess of Worcester,” *The Royal Society Archive of Past Fellows* (2014), <https://collections.royalsociety.org> (homepage), accessed 2 July 2012; Chamberlayne-Oldenburg_15/7/1673_10:85.
83. WOH77_WingG836_sig.A2v. Charles did not show much further interest in scientific study after he returned from his travels in 1675 and it does not seem that he attended meetings or made any other contributions to the Society. The following correspondence was exchanged between Charles and Oldenburg during Charles’s travels on the Continent from 1673–5, before he commenced his military career: Oldenburg-C.Somerset_10/6/1673_10:16; Oldenburg-C.Somerset_11/8/1673_10:136–137; C.Somerset-Oldenburg_2/4/1674_10:557–558; Oldenburg-C.Somerset_16/4/1674_10:566; C.Somerset-Oldenburg_8/[7]/1674_

- 11:47–48; Oldenburg-C.Somerset_19/8/1674_11:70–71; Oldenburg-C.Somerset_29/10/1674_11:118; C.Somerset-Oldenburg_15/3/1675_11:227–228; Oldenburg-C.Somerset_15/4/1675_11:275. According to the Royal Society's Journal Book (26 November 1701), Charles, Lord Herbert's son Henry (1684–1714) was also proposed as FRS by Robert Southwell. Henry was at this time in Mary Somerset's care as Charles had died suddenly in 1698. However, Henry's fellowship was not confirmed. RS, "Somerset, Charles (1660–1698), Marquess of Worcester," in The Royal Society, *Journal Book*, 1696–1702, entry dated 26 November 1701, JBC/9 cited in The Royal Society, "Somerset, Henry (1684–1714), 2nd Duke of Beaufort," *The Royal Society Archive of Past Fellows* (2014), <https://collections.royalsociety.org> (homepage), accessed 2 July 2012.
84. Essays76_WingG809_sig.5v.
 85. SR76_WingG830_sig.A7r; 2:62, 65, 3:113–114. Cf. Matthew 22:25–32.
 86. WOH77_WingG836_45–46.
 87. Mary Somerset, *Unpublished Diary*, Bad. Mun. FmF 1/6/1/fol.10v cited in McClain, *Beaufort*, 119–120.
 88. Somerset also capitalized on a family tradition. Mary's brother Henry Capel was the first to establish a formal garden on the site that would become the Kew Botanical Gardens. Davies, "Botanizing at Badminton," 22. Cf. Chambers, "Stories of Plants," 49. Several of Somerset's medicinal recipes have also survived. McClain, *Beaufort*, 118–120.
 89. Davies, "Botanizing at Badminton," 19–40.
 90. M.Somerset-H.Somerset_[1678]_6.
 91. McClain, *Beaufort*, 119–120. McClain has been criticized for the meagre support and context that she provides for her assessment of Mary's botany. Lisa T. Sarasohn, "Book Review: Molly McClain," *Isis* 93.1 (2002): 124; Jennifer Munroe, "'My Innocent Diversion of Gardening': Mary Somerset's Plants," *Renaissance Studies* 25.1 (2011): 117.
 92. CC69_WingG801_10–12. Cf. SR76_WingG830_3:127–128.
 93. WOH77_WingG836_84.
 94. Elizabeth Kent, "Considerations on Botany, as a Study for Young People . . ." *The Magazine of Natural History and Journal of Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, and Meteorology* 1 (1829): 132.
 95. William Withering, *An Arrangement of British Plants*, 4 vols (London, 1830), 1: xxxviii–ix. Cf. Elizabeth Dolan, *Seeing Suffering in Women's Literature of the Romantic Era* (Aldershot, UK; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 107–108.
 96. See Chapters 1 and 7, and Davies, "Science in an Enchanted World," appendix one.
 97. Notestein, *History of Witchcraft*, 291–293; Hunter, "Royal Society and the Decline of Magic," 7–8, 15, cf. notes 42, 46; Jo Bath and John Newton, "'Sensible Proof of Spirits': Ghost Belief during the Later Seventeenth Century," *Folklore* 117 (2006): 4–5.
 98. Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956, 24.
 99. EI80_WingG804A_sig.A4r.

8 Collaboration and Method

Glanvill and the Reception of the *Saducismus triumphatus*

In this final chapter, I turn my attention to the *Saducismus triumphatus* and the Collection of Relations. Using the framework provided by the above expositions of Glanvill's metaphysics, experimental philosophical method and networks, and his Letter of Witchcraft (still the core component of the *Saducismus*), I offer a refined approach to the analysis and interpretation of the Collection of Relations and the impact of the *Saducismus* as a whole. This chapter highlights the importance of Glanvill's intentions for the Collection as expressed in both the Letter and his correspondence with Robert Boyle. Then, by analysing the reception of the *Saducismus*, I show how Glanvill's association with the Royal Society, and the contributions that several other Fellows made to the Collection, lent the work additional credibility and contributed to the prolonged interest in it. My analysis below also emphasizes the importance of a nuanced distinction between the impact of the *Saducismus* and its translations, and the impact of Glanvill as a philosopher and demonologist. As this chapter shows, this distinction is regularly reflected in the references to the work from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed, the level to which Henry More's shaping of the *Saducismus*, through his editorial decisions and additions, influenced the reception of the work is clearly illustrated by the preparation of the Dutch and German translations in particular.

The Posthumous Editions of the *Saducismus triumphatus*

The testimonial character of Glanvill's work was *supposedly* given its full form when the Collection of Relations was combined with the Letter of Witchcraft to form the *Saducismus triumphatus*. Indeed, the first posthumous edition of 1681 included some 200 pages of contemporary reports of witchcraft, apparitions and hauntings, named the "Proof of Apparitions, Spirits and Witches, from a Choice Collection of Modern Relations", in support of Glanvill's philosophical and theological discussions. However, as highlighted in Chapter 2, there are reasons to be cautious when attributing the beliefs, interpretations or methodology evident within the Collection to Glanvill. The Collection was evidently based on Glanvill's notes and a

plan recited to Thomas Alcock from his deathbed.¹ However, without these original notes or the letter in which Glanvill's plan was reportedly conveyed to More for comparison, it is not possible to determine how closely the posthumous editions of the *Saducismus* resemble what Glanvill might have produced.

In addition to the problem of Glanvill's missing notes, there are many indications that the new material added to the text was altered by More in various ways. For example, the editorial notes or "advertisements", reaffirm that Glanvill's notes contained incomplete and unpolished drafts and that More brought them to a publishable standard.² Thus, although the preface to Part Two was described as 'the whole of the Preface, that was found amongst Mr. Glanvil's Papers', it was actually incomplete. More acknowledged that 'five or six words' marking the 'beginning' of a further point 'not [yet] perfected', were 'left out' from the end of this preface. In other instances, material responding to Wagstaffe, Webster and Ady was entirely omitted even though a substantial amount had been drafted because of difficulty reading Glanvill's handwriting.³ Numerous such admissions confirm that without Glanvill's notes we are unable to assess the extent or impact of the changes More made to portions of text still attributed to Glanvill, with the result that using Part Two of the *Saducismus* to explore Glanvill's views is especially problematic.

These issues surrounding authorial attribution also impact significantly on the approach to the Collection of Relations. According to the publisher, James Collins, More 'earnestly avouch[ed]' that the relations selected for publication are all 'very well attested and highly credible' and 'contain nothing but what is consonant to right Reason and sound Philosophy'. Nevertheless, 'the Number also of the Stories are much increased above what was designed by Mr. Glanvil', and as it would have been 'too tedious to have explained all' of them, the reader is 'left to exercise his own wit and ingeny upon the rest'.⁴ These comments suggest that More applied different criteria when selecting the relations, confirming that the Collection we have is likely to be substantially different from what Glanvill intended. This contrast is particularly stark when considering the six additional relations appended to the second edition of 1682. Three of these relations, appearing under the subtitle "A Continuation of the Collection", are transcriptions of reports More found in published works. The inclusion of these relations, as will be discussed below, contradicts what is known about Glanvill's intentions for this portion of the project.⁵

These editorial decisions highlight More's influence on the tone of the Collection and how this may have impacted the later reception of Glanvill. For example, the advertisements, evidently penned by More (although the authorship is often ambiguous) are often very inflammatory. In an extreme example following Relation VI, More refers to Glanvill's antagonists ('J. Webster, and the rest of the Hagg-advocates') as fools who would make witches out to be 'meer couzening Queans or Melancholick Fopps

that had nothing to do with the Devil'.⁶ Although Glanvill is certainly prone to colourful turns of phrase, as my analysis often shows, this example is uncharacteristically vitriolic. This jeer is at odds with Glanvill's intention to present evidence that is above question and founded in a reasoned philosophical methodology. Furthermore, it stands in contrast to the revisions Glanvill made to the Tedworth relation and *Plus ultra*, as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, where he toned down or removed many such invectives and personal attacks in favour of presenting more reasoned and impartial evidence.

On closer analysis, the information given about each individual relation also suggests that Glanvill's involvement in the drafting of the Collection, beyond the first two relations, was minimal. Table 3 highlights that only twelve of twenty-eight relations contain direct evidence of Glanvill's active interest or investigation, and that fourteen cannot be linked to Glanvill at all on the basis of the information provided in the text of the relations or the associated advertisements. Furthermore, most of the relations are presented in a raw form, that is, as transcriptions of the personal accounts or notes from judicial proceedings that were sent to Glanvill or More. Many of these accounts lack crucial details, limiting their power to convince the more sceptical reader.⁷ The form in which most of the relations are presented is clearly inconsistent with the care and effort Glanvill took in the composition of his Tedworth account.

This analysis highlights the importance of carefully considering how well the Collection of Relations, the portion of the work for which Glanvill has become both famous and infamous, actually reflects his methodology and beliefs. This analysis also highlights the importance of distinguishing between the impact of the *Saducismus* and the influence of Glanvill's thought. As discussed above, in Chapters 2 and 4 particularly, I believe that the value of the Collection of Relations, for the study of Glanvill's thought, lies primarily in the methodology behind it. While the changing shape, spread and cultural impact of specific relations certainly have their place in the broader historiography of witchcraft, it is very difficult to attribute Glanvill's influence to these versions of the reports. However, the methodology underlying the Collection was clearly related to the approach that underpinned both Glanvill's Letter of Witchcraft and the different versions of the Tedworth account. The Collection reflects Glanvill's thought in its design and in its utilization of the Society's epistemological theory and beliefs about testimonial evidence.

To recapitulate: Prior demonstrated that the 'moderately sceptical' epistemology advocated by the Society had at its core the notion that to presume any one individual could know or understand everything was both dogmatic and arrogant. This belief contributed to the Society's decision to emphasize their collaborative approach to knowledge production through two verification procedures: the replication of experiments and the consistent testimony of individuals or groups. This trust in testimonial evidence provided the foundation for both Glanvill's generalized argument about the

irrationality of disbelief in witchcraft, given the widespread accounts found in otherwise isolated populations, and his methodological approach to the search for verifiable evidence of diabolic magic.⁸

Chapter 4 emphasized how Glanvill applied this method to his philosophical analysis of witchcraft phenomena with innovative and compelling results. However, Chapter 2 emphasized that using testimonial evidence in this way was not entirely new, and that Glanvill's approach can be compared to Johann Weyer's in his *De praestigiis daemonum* (1563) and Henry Boguet's in his *Discours des sorciers* (1602), just two precursors who used testimonial evidence to similar effect in their discussions of witchcraft. This prompts another interesting question. If it is not the use of testimonial evidence *per se* that makes the *Saducismus triumphatus* and its Collection of Relations stand apart from the similar works which came before it, and those which followed, what did? The reputation of the *Saducismus* and the Collection rested upon two primary factors, namely the association of Glanvill and his works with the leading philosophical and natural philosophical minds of his time, particularly several significant Fellows of the Royal Society including Henry More, Robert Boyle, Henry Oldenburg, John Beale and William Brereton; and his clear intention to provide testimonial accounts of the highest possible objective standards. In the remainder of this chapter, I shall explore both these factors and the how they are reflected in the intellectual impact of Glanvill and the *Saducismus* in England, Holland and Germany.

The Fellows and Glanvill's Investigation into the Supernatural

More and Boyle are the two Fellows most commonly associated with Glanvill's preliminary work on the Collection. The reasons for the association with More are clear: not only did he edit the printed versions of the Relations, he was involved in the collection of at least seventeen of the twenty-eight relations and, it appears, was solely responsible for the collection of as many as fourteen of that seventeen.⁹ The link between Boyle and the Collection is usually made on the basis of the Boyle-Glanvill correspondence of 1677–78 in which Boyle encourages Glanvill in his endeavour, discusses the best approach, and confirms that he has provided material for the Collection. Boyle also famously supported the translation and publication of the account of the Devil of Mascon, a French poltergeist, published in 1669; this account is considered methodologically analogous to the Collection in many ways,¹⁰ a similarity that did not go unnoticed by contemporaries.¹¹ There were evidently rumours about Boyle's conviction concerning the reality of the Mascon poltergeist, just as there were about Glanvill and the Tedworth case. Glanvill asks whether it is true that Boyle 'now disown[s] the story of the Devill of Mascon', and believes that 'a clear imposture hath bin discover'd in it'.¹² Boyle responds to the news of these rumours with bewilderment. To demonstrate his continued belief in the case, he recounts the

most recent conversation he can recall about the matter. This was had with a fellow believer, described pointedly as a ‘learned and intelligent traveller’, who sought Boyle out after visiting Mascon to investigate the case himself. Having thus resolved any doubts about his continuing belief, Boyle sends Glanvill a report on an Irish witchcraft case that he was investigating. He writes that the case,

by reason of some odd Circumstances belonging to it; & of the Acquaintance I had with one or two of the chief Witness’s mentiond in it, gave me the Curiosity to inquire more fully into the truth of it: to satisfy my selfe about which I made use of the Credit of some of my Friends [and] my brother Orrery . . . procured me from the Judge himself the authentic account that I now communicate to you.¹³

That Boyle sought the account of a judicial figure and considered this the most reliable version of events is reminiscent of Glanvill’s use of Robert Hunt’s case books.

In 1678 Boyle also undertook a preliminary investigation into second sight, a phenomenon often reported in Scotland, which was similar in nature to Glanvill’s investigation of witchcraft. In his renowned account of the episode, Michael Hunter outlines Boyle’s method from the identification of his first witness of good repute, George MacKenzie, Lord Tarbat (1630–1714), to his publication of a collection of “Strange Reports” in an appendix to *Experimenta et observationes physicae* (1691). Boyle intended to publish Tarbat’s account in the second part of this collection, but left the work incomplete when he died later that year.¹⁴ Despite delaying the publication, Boyle circulated the report in manuscript form. Hunter characterizes Boyle’s notes on the topic as ‘neutral’, ‘dispassionate’, ‘detached’ and ‘consciously objective’. However, while Boyle’s testimonies may indeed lack ‘the bizarre quality of a witchcraft narrative’, Boyle undertook these investigations using a similar methodology, and was, at the same time, offering his full support to Glanvill’s continued search for an unimpeachable and undeniable account of witchcraft.¹⁵

Glanvill, Boyle and More also had many allies among their Society colleagues who shared their interest in these more wondrous phenomena. Although not as prolific as the reports on more earthly and mundane observations (as would be expected), reports of witchcraft, prodigies, apparitions and prophecies are not uncommon among the collections of empirical observations and curiosities compiled by the early English experimental philosophers during the 1660s and 1670s. For example, an alternative relation on Scottish second sight, reported by Robert Moray (1614–72), appears in John Evelyn’s commonplace book alongside several accounts of witchcraft.¹⁶ The inclusion of accounts of witchcraft and other supernatural phenomena alongside more mundane empirical observations reflects a continued openness to the possibility that these phenomena were metaphysically immanent

and present in the material realm. Boyle expresses this rationale when drafting the preface to the unpublished “Strange Reports”. He records these accounts not only to please his unnamed dedicatee, ‘but in the first place because the truth is in itself desirable’. He continues:

if the recounted phenomena are extraordinary rather than supernatural, the naturalist will more thoroughly investigate their cause, and a new philosophical light will dawn. But if he observes some phenomena that are above nature, there will arise the humbler consideration that . . . some truths are not explicable by the powers of matter and motion . . .¹⁷

Foreshadowing an issue that will be famously brought to the fore with the publication of *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (1687) and Newton’s reintroduction of natural forces in the form of gravity, Boyle here articulates the experimental philosopher’s obligation to investigate all phenomena in order to demonstrate their true metaphysical status. After his investigation, Boyle compiled his “Strange Reports” as proof of the existence and material effect of spiritual forces just as Newton presented his mathematical calculations as proof of the existence of a gravitational force. Within this intellectual framework, it is unsurprising that many of the men who would become Fellows of the Royal Society had a long history of interest in wondrous and magical phenomena.

The Society’s 1666 investigation into Valentine Greatrakes, the Irish faith healer, represents one of the most organised and concerted investigations into a wondrous phenomenon from this period. In his recent work on the episode, Peter Elmer sheds light on John Beale’s motivations, as one of several Fellows leading the investigation, by exploring his contributions to the discussions about witchcraft, prodigies, dreams and other supernatural phenomena within Samuel Hartlib’s correspondence network. A seventh son who evidently believed he could foresee the future, Beale advocated for investigations into supernatural phenomena throughout the 1640s, 1650s, 1660s and into the 1670s. He sent Hartlib a book of prodigies so that Hartlib could help facilitate their investigation through his networks and he supported the attempt of Matthew Poole (d.1679) to create a ‘Register of Illustrious Providences’.¹⁸ These exchanges provide further evidence that the collection and investigation of testimonial accounts was considered part of a concerted effort to produce a reliable ‘true history of spirits’ upon which philosophical theory could be reliably constructed. Indeed, Hartlib’s papers contain letters from both Henry More and John Worthington which discuss this goal explicitly.¹⁹ These are likely the type of exchanges that interested Brereton and Worthington in 1666–1667, when they worked through the Hartlib papers and waited for the Tedworth report Brereton had requested from Glanvill.²⁰

Similar accounts of recent supernatural events also occur alongside reports of medical, botanical and other “natural” curiosities in the correspondence

of Henry Oldenburg. In a letter dated 2 April 1668, Samuel Colepresse, a contributor to the *Philosophical Transactions* from Underwood near Plymouth, gave an account of a poltergeist attack similar to that at Tedworth.²¹ He reports that the spirit of a recently deceased neighbour was thought to be responsible for ‘an extraordinary & violent whirling of clotts of plaisterings, & great stones from an invisible hand’ that assaulted a house in Cornwall every night for over a week. The neighbour, an elderly woman, was a suspected witch and the attacks were presumed to be retribution against the household maid, who had informed the farmer, John Brookeing of Ruslade, of several uncharitable comments the neighbour had made about the family. The attacks only took place on evenings when the maid was home and stopped completely after the maid was dismissed, seemingly confirming this explanation. Colepresse analyses the event, announcing authoritatively that some of the stones were thrown with such ‘an almost incredible obliquity, & violence’ that a person could not have thrown them without the assistance of ‘some mischievous Feind: whose subteletie & power may be much beyond ye activities of our most knowing agents’.²² Intriguingly, Oldenburg received this account after informing Boyle that he had passed on Boyle’s request to Beale and Colepresse on a matter relating to ‘Mr Glanvils book’. The letter to Boyle was dated 12 November 1667, suggesting the book was most likely either the *Philosophical Considerations* (1667) or *A Blow at Modern Sadducism* (1668). This suggests the tantalising, albeit speculative, possibility that Boyle’s request was for Beale and Colepresse to provide reports of this nature to Glanvill via Oldenburg.²³ Such a scenario is certainly plausible given that the relation is introduced with the statement that Colepresse is here ‘makeing an old promise good,’ suggesting that the information had been requested at an earlier time. Regardless of the nature of Boyle’s mysterious request to Beale and Colepresse, and the existence of these reports in Oldenburg’s correspondence, it is not clear whether these letters were part of a collaborative investigation into witchcraft. Similarly, it is not clear whether Colepresse’s account was requested for Glanvill’s use or Boyle’s. Nevertheless, the way Colepresse’s account of witchcraft flows seamlessly into his observations of some apple trees recovering from storm damage is striking to the modern reader.²⁴ This juxtaposition adds to the perception that witchcraft had not yet been excluded from the naturalist’s sphere.

Oldenburg’s correspondence also suggests that Glanvill’s work garnered support among those affiliated with, but not officially Fellows of, the Society. In 1668, the year of the *Blow at Modern Sadducism* and the first published version of the Tedworth account, Nathaniel Fairfax wrote to Oldenburg in praise of ‘Ye Mechanical solution [to witchcraft] of yt lightsom Gent. Mr Glanvile’, evidently referring to Glanvill’s PVH. Fairfax, a physician, antiquarian, and nonconformist minister from Suffolk, expresses some reservations about the PVH’s ability to explain the interaction between spirits and humans but is nevertheless intrigued by the notion that certain ‘particles’ may be involved in the creation of ‘foreboding’ or true dreams. Fairfax suggests it is

plausible that such ‘particles’ could be deposited in someone’s imagination and then awakened ‘after a long hush’. However while he suspects ‘ye Devill’ is responsible through his ‘vehicle’ for ‘supplying ye stead of imagination’, he is sceptical and suspects the Devil and other ‘unbulkie beings’ would give their attention to ‘weightyer matters’ rather than involving themselves in the affairs of the average fortune-teller or gypsy.²⁵ Although Fairfax was not a Fellow, he contributed to the *Philosophical Transactions*, lending his opinion additional credential.²⁶ This exchange suggests both a belief in witchcraft and an interest in investigating the causes and mechanisms involved in spirit-human interactions that was compatible with Glanvill’s approach as outlined in his writings on witchcraft.²⁷

Only a few months after the letter from Fairfax, Peter Nelson also wrote to Oldenburg, echoing Glanvill’s rallying call.²⁸ He declared that he:

. . . could heartily wish, . . . to see somthing from the Royall Society about Spirits & Witches; for as these are none of the most obvious things in Nature, so have they been hitherto discours’t of with ye least of clearness and satisfaction, so far at least as I have seen or can apprehend.

Nelson, a schoolmaster at Durham, and also not a Fellow, goes on to discuss the ‘One Man of excellent Learning’ who ‘is very elaborate upon these subjects’ but who is ‘not easily understood’ on many matters and is ‘no less hard to believe’ on others. Based on the timing of the Nelson’s letter, Rupert Hall and Marie Boas Hall suggest that Nelson is most likely referring to Glanvill.²⁹ If so, it seems that Nelson was intrigued enough by the *Blow at Modern Sadducism* to add his voice to the growing list of names interested in such a study. The material drawn upon throughout my work reflects an increasing awareness of the number of well-known early Fellows who compiled information on and discussed magical, wondrous and supernatural phenomena, and occult sciences.³⁰ Whether or not these collegial exchanges can or should be considered “official” activities of the Royal Society, it appears that both Glanvill and More stood out among the Fellows only on account of their extensive publications on supernatural topics, not because of their interest in such matters. Indeed Glanvill’s investigations into witchcraft seem to have had support from more Fellows and affiliates than might have been expected, with the preeminent Robert Boyle foremost among them.³¹

Boyle and the Refinement of Glanvill’s Method

The relationship between the Society’s experimental method and the hypotheses Glanvill presented in his Letter of Witchcraft was demonstrated in Chapter 4. Likewise, it was argued that Glanvill’s PVH needs to be contextualized among contemporaneous discoveries and experimental work, including Boyle’s air-pump experiments. Glanvill’s approach to the study

of witchcraft reflected his hope that experimental philosophers would soon discover how to detect and measure spiritual substances: both the poisonous vapours being infused into witches by their familiars, and possibly even the aerial substance of the spirits themselves. It was also evident from the preliminary nature of those hypotheses, that Glanvill believed that any experimental investigation was still some time away. By examining Glanvill's interactions with Boyle's work in a broader context, beyond the letters of 1677–1678, we gain further insight into how Glanvill and his contemporaries might have conceived of the Collection as a preparatory step toward an empirical investigation of witchcraft.

In 1665–1666 Boyle sent two letters to the *Philosophical Transactions*, the Society's journal, calling for observations on the mines and quarries of England.³² These letters called on the Fellows and other readers to send in observations of mining operations, including details of 'its Inhabitants, and its Productions, and these External and Internal'. Boyle wished to study the Earth itself and sought this assistance as experimental philosophers must first 'compose a good Natural History' upon which they can then build 'a Solid and Useful Philosophy'. Boyle then listed suggestions for possible 'general heads of enquiries' including several mundane observations of an unsurprising nature:

- Which quarries are currently in use;
- The condition of the quarries;
- Qualities of the stone/minerals/ore being found;
- Orientation of mineral veins;
- What type of clays and soils are also present;
- What mining techniques are being used;
- What techniques are being used to identify mining sites; and
- How the mines are being constructed etc.

However, he also recommended collecting information about the local traditions, knowledge and skills of the mining communities that might point to solutions to research questions.³³

Glanvill responded to Boyle's request in 1668 with an account of some information he had collected about the practices, typical discoveries and strategies used by the workers at Somerset's Mendip mines. Based primarily on interviews with miners, Glanvill also included general observations of the operations and characteristics of the local area. However, most strikingly, Glanvill's inclusion of details about a superstitious mining technique provides us with an analogous deployment of the methodology used in the Collection. He reports:

Concerning subterraneous Daemons, they [the miners] have never seen any, but sometimes have heard knockings beyond their own Works, which, when follow'd by them, have afforded plenty of Ore.³⁴

This statement, a direct response to Boyle's call, shows Glanvill seeking evidence of spiritual or supernatural beings who were not engaged in diabolic witchcraft, but were the suspected natural inhabitants of these subterranean regions. In Boyle's second letter on the subject, he expands considerably on his previous list of suggested topics for enquiry and includes eleven 'Promiscuous Inquiries about Mines'. These promiscuous topics include queries about the air temperature in the mines, whether hot rocks or underground springs are ever discovered, and:

6. Whether the Diggers do ever really meet with any subterraneous Daemons; and if they do, in what shape and manner they appear; what they portend; and what they do, etc.³⁵

Boyle's inclusion of this point of enquiry and the fact that Oldenburg retained Glanvill's observations on the topic when he published his reply, demonstrates that all three considered that the question of the existence of subterranean demons was a task appropriate to a preliminary natural history of this environment.

Interestingly, Glanvill is responsible for more than one of these exceedingly rare references to explicitly "supernatural" phenomena in the Society's journal. Glanvill's 1669 contribution to the *Transactions* regarding the history of the Bath springs was similar in tone and can also be interpreted as a contribution to a preliminary geological natural history. The report on the springs includes observations ranging from basic descriptions of the geographical area and the type of stone commonly found there, to reports of the healing properties of the waters, and different medieval theories about the origin of the springs and the baths. Evidently Glanvill consulted at least two manuscript chronicles which claimed that Bladud, son of Lud Hidibras created the springs using necromancy.³⁶ The busy rector of three parishes clearly took these endeavours seriously, making time to visit the mines, conduct interviews and undertake archival research in order to prepare these pieces. However, it is by acknowledging their relationship to the method articulated by Boyle that we are able to understand how 'papers of permanent value in the history of mining' legitimately contained talk of subterranean demons and necromancy.³⁷ Furthermore, Glanvill's submissions to the *Philosophical Transactions* provide important insight into why Boyle willingly and actively engaged with Glanvill in 1677–1678, advising him on the production of the Collection of Relations, another natural history.

There are six surviving letters between Glanvill and Boyle from 1677–1678 that discuss how to best approach witchcraft investigations and thus expand knowledge of both religion *and* the natural world.³⁸ Boyle enquires into Glanvill's progress and refers to a particular case they had discussed when they last met, presumably the Tedworth case, indicating that these letters are part of a greater dialogue. He writes that given

Glanvill's agreement to 'gratify' him 'with an entire narrative of so memorable a transaction' he will:

well forbear to solicit the performance of your promise; and shall only add something about the manner, wherein I think it necessary to beg it may be performed; which, in the general, is, that, at least, the main circumstances of the relation may be impartially delivered, and sufficiently verified, either upon your own knowledge, or by the judicial records, or other competent vouchers.³⁹

This passage has been interpreted as an indication that Boyle had reservations about the reports that Glanvill had produced to date.⁴⁰ However, it is also possible that Boyle is being generally cautious given his previous experiences. Henry Jessey reportedly corresponded with Boyle in the late 1650s, supplying him with an account relating to John Dee, the Elizabethan mathematician and magus. However, Boyle and Beale lost faith in Jessey's account after he published a series of anti-royalist pamphlets utilizing reports of wondrous phenomena.⁴¹ After the Reformation, such events were frequently co-opted by political propagandists like Jessey, particularly in England, and it seems reasonable to interpret Boyle's caution as a reaction to this broader context.⁴² After all, in a later letter, Boyle indicates that he has sent Glanvill an account of the events at Orrery for his Collection. This act suggests he was confident in Glanvill's ability and intention to be 'very careful to deliver none but well attested narratives; the want of which cautiousness has justly discredited many relations of witches and sorceries, and made most suspected'.⁴³

This series of letters between Glanvill and Boyle also allows us to confirm some of Glanvill's intentions for the Collection. It is clear from this exchange that Glanvill planned to build upon the reports he had already published (on the Tedworth case and the Shepton witches). It is also evident that he sought relations supported by evidence of such quality and detail that they would function as a preliminary natural history and thus provide a basis for further empirical investigations into witchcraft. Indeed, seven of the eleven relations which Glanvill was demonstrably interested in are based on court records or include descriptions of trials demonstrating that most of Glanvill's research complied with the ideal standards Boyle proscribed.⁴⁴ However, the care that Glanvill took over the presentation of the Tedworth case combined with the concerns expressed in the exchange with Boyle suggest further cause to doubt whether Glanvill would have been satisfied with the raw form and sparse detail provided in many of the relations More presented.

The Impact of the *Saducismus triumphatus* in England

Regardless of these concerns about the reliability of the posthumous editions for the study of Glanvill's thought, the seventeenth-century response to the *Saducismus* provides a strong indication of the impact of Glanvill's

explanations for witchcraft and the methodology behind the Collection. Given the space limitations of this book, this analysis has been limited to an introductory survey of the material, the identification of future areas of study and discussion of only a few select, critical texts.

Preliminary searches on the material available through Early English Books Online and Eighteenth Century Collections Online alone returned just under 200 works referencing Glanvill.⁴⁵ This figure excludes the multitude of library catalogues, estate catalogues, book sale lists and bibliographies that demonstrate continued circulation and availability of Glanvill's works throughout the eighteenth century, which were too numerous to include here. Over half of these works reference Glanvill's writings on witchcraft or the Tedworth case. In comparison, nearly a quarter of the listed titles reference his works on preaching or the soul, while close to fifth refer to Glanvill's philosophical works. The following discussion focuses on select works that had particular impact on contemporaneous perceptions of Glanvill or the historiographical literature.

The impact of the *Saducismus* is seen foremost in the plethora of works published over the following thirty years that consciously mimicked the Collection, reproducing modern accounts of witchcraft and apparitions as proof of the existence and influence of the spirit world. One of the most famous was Richard Baxter in his *Certainty of the Worlds of Spirits* (1691).⁴⁶ Published shortly before his death, this work presents, as the subtitle indicates, a series of 'unquestionable histories of apparitions, operations, witchcrafts and voices, proving the immortality of souls, the malice and misery of devils and the damned, and the blessedness of the justified', based on the testimonies of Baxter's correspondents.⁴⁷ The tendency of these imitators to openly model themselves on the *Saducismus* is notable given the high profile of earlier works containing similar compilations relating, primarily, to spirits and ghosts.⁴⁸ Richard Bovet was another significant imitator with his *Pandaemonium* (1684). Bovet presented a philosophical defence of witches and witchcraft followed by a second part containing 'an Account of divers most Remarkable Witchcrafts' and 'a further Account of Daemons, and Spectres, never before Published', which is delineated by the running header 'A Collection of Relations'.⁴⁹ Similarly, although he doesn't reference Glanvill by name, the editor of Matthew Hale's (1609–1676) posthumously published notes echoes the *Saducismus* in his choice of title, namely *A Collection of Modern Relations of Matter of Fact concerning Witches & Witchcraft* (1693).⁵⁰

The *Saducismus* is also linked to the work of the Scotsman and professor of philosophy at St Andrews, George Sinclair (d.[1696]).⁵¹ More copied the third relation in the Continuation of the Collection from Sinclair's work *The Hydrostaticks* (1672).⁵² However, it seems that Sinclair was himself inspired by Glanvill's methodology. When introducing "Observation XX", Sinclair echoes Glanvill's method:

. . . though this [observation] may seem not so pertinent, as others, yet because the design of it is only Philosophical, and for advancing

the Historical part of Learning in order to Spirits, upon which the Scientifical part doth so much depend, I have presumed to insert it here . . .⁵³

Sinclair again sanctions the methodology behind the Collection when he expands on this element of his work in *Satan's Invisible World Discovered* (1685). Sinclair not only acknowledges More's reproduction of the account from his *Hydrostaticks*, he openly includes thirteen of the 'Authentick Records' found throughout the second edition of the *Saducismus* in his own "Choice Collection of Modern Relations".⁵⁴ (See Table 5.)

The ongoing interest in the epistemological method which inspired the Collection of Relations is also demonstrated through the response to the work of Isaac Newton. William Whiston, Newton's student and successor to the Lucasian chair of mathematics at Cambridge University, connected the logic of Glanvill's argument for the existence of witchcraft with Newton's argument for the existence of a gravitational force. In his *Account of the Daemoniacks* (1737), Whiston reaffirmed Glanvill's point that human nescience, the inability to comprehend the laws and mechanisms involved, was not a justifiable reason for denying the existence of diabolic witchcraft. Whiston then linked this logic to two of the most significant recent scientific discoveries with great effect. He argued that the 'temptations and insults of . . . invisible Daemons' are 'matters of fact', so 'well attested' that to deny them on the grounds that we cannot 'give a direct solution of them' is to deny the validity of 'Mr. Boyle's experiments about the elasticity of the air; or Sir Isaac Newton's demonstrations about the power of gravity' because neither of these phenomena can 'be solved by mechanical causes'.⁵⁵ Whiston makes this argument with authority, asserting his experience with 'sound, experimental, and mathematical Philosophy', and arguing that his approach to demoniacs is analogous to his approach when observing a meteor in 1716, his reports on which were reputedly well received.⁵⁶

Seeing Glanvill's logic used in this way demonstrates how many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century philosophers were able to conceive of investigations into spiritual phenomena like witchcraft as genuine natural philosophical pursuits that contributed to knowledge of the natural world. While they undoubtedly also saw the theological value in understanding and proving supernatural phenomena, and although their belief may have ultimately been founded in the *a priori* assumption of a Christian cosmology, these natural philosophers seem to have genuinely believed that the testimonial evidence they provided justified their belief in witchcraft, just as Newton's calculations justified belief in gravity.⁵⁷ Whiston's analogy supports a broader interpretation of Boyle's concluding comments in the preface to his unpublished "Strange Reports". Boyle's statement that any true observations about inexplicable phenomena are 'of great importance in this age, when the Epicureans use the notions of their philosophy to reject everything that is contrary

to it', is evidently just as relevant to the improvement of knowledge of the natural world as it is to the combatting of Sadducism. Indeed, Boyle appears to believe, like Glanvill, that experimental philosophers should investigate phenomena that appear to have supernatural causes, because if they prove 'extraordinary rather than supernatural . . . a new philosophical light will dawn' through the discovery of that knowledge.⁵⁸

It is in Francis Hutchinson's *Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft* (1718) that Glanvill's methodology and epistemological argument is effectively deployed against him. Hutchinson prefaced his analysis of the executions, trials and impostures of 'supposed witches' with this explanation that:

Rational Arguments without Facts, can never decide this Case. A Man may as well compose a true System of Natural Philosophy, without Experiments, as state the Case of Witchcraft, without a careful Enquiry into those Appearances of it that have made so many Wise Men believe it.⁵⁹

However, unlike Glanvill, Hutchinson was prepared to challenge the validity of testimonies provided by the popular 'Modern Relations of Witchcraft', dismissing them as the product of 'vulgar Opinion' and contrary to Scripture.⁶⁰ As both Glanvill and Casaubon expressed a similar disdain for the 'rude wonder of the ignorant', this difference alone does not account for the success of Hutchinson's argument. Hutchinson's emphasis on the absence of facts and successful experiments, the failure of the numerous natural histories of witchcraft to move beyond testimony to observable, verifiable facts, helped him place diabolic spirits in the transcendent metaphysical realm. The failure of experimental philosophers to devise empirical tests to verify these testimonies permitted people to presume that, if they exist, spirits cannot be observed. In the absence of such verification interest grew in Wagstaffe's amusing brand of satirical scepticism.⁶¹ Conyers Middleton supports this interpretation, noting in 1749 that it was when the 'incredibility of the theory' finally overcame the force of testimonial evidence that witchcraft denial became more predominant.⁶² Yet the tide of public opinion turned slowly, and Hutchinson, who wrote his work as a call for the repeal of the 1604 witchcraft laws, refrained from publishing earlier versions of the *Essay* in both 1706 and 1712. He finally published the *Essay* in 1718 in response to Richard Boulton's *A Compleat History of Magick, Sorcery and Witchcraft* (1715), which in turn was inspired by the overturning of Jane Wenham's conviction for witchcraft in 1712. Although Boulton responded again in 1722, Hutchinson's work eclipsed him so effectively that the *Historical Essay* is often praised as 'the last chapter in the witch controversy'.⁶³ Indeed, although many works discussing the possibility of witchcraft continued to be written, the compelling force of Hutchinson's argument was quickly recognized in both England and abroad.⁶⁴

The *Saducismus triumphatus* in the New World

Glanvill's geographical reach extended beyond England into the New World, where the *Saducismus* was referenced in Massachusetts by both Increase and Cotton Mather in their compilations of contemporary reports. Increase Mather cites multiple cases from the *Saducismus*, but is particularly interested in the Tedworth case, while Cotton Mather quotes extensively from Horneck's account of the Swedish witches.⁶⁵ Slightly later, John Hale (1636–1700), a Puritan pastor also in Massachusetts, indicates that he saw himself continuing in the tradition of Glanvill when he notes that 'we may find much use made of this experiment in Tryals in England mentioned by Baxter, Glanvil and Burton', while discussing a case of the evil eye.⁶⁶ However, Glanvill's influence in the New World is most ominously felt in Samuel Fowler's edition of Robert Calef's *More Wonders of the Invisible World: Or The Wonders of the Invisible World Displayed* (1700), which was written as a reply to Cotton Mather. Fowler attributes the *Saducismus* a pivotal role in the execution of George Burroughs during the Salem witch-trials of 1692, asserting that it was the 'strict application' of Glanvill's definition that 'a witch is one who can do or seem to do strange things beyond the known power of art and ordinary nature by virtue of a confederacy with evil spirits', that ultimately condemned Burroughs.⁶⁷ Further exploration of Glanvill's influence on these leading New World figures is certainly necessary for a complete understanding of his impact, but it is not possible within the confines of this book.

The *Saducismus triumphatus* in Holland

As indicated in Chapter 2, the *Saducismus* also exerted influence in continental Europe, most notably when Balthasar Bekker discussed Glanvill directly in his famous *De betoverde weereld*. Bekker foreshadowed his planned attack on Glanvill's theories of witchcraft in volume one, and completed his discussion of Glanvill's philosophy of witchcraft and the Tedworth case in volumes three and four.⁶⁸ Bekker's treatment of Glanvill prompted references to the *Saducismus* in discussions about the existence of witchcraft and spirits in both Holland and Germany.

It seems that the only Dutch respondent to reference Glanvill explicitly was Jacobus Koelman, a highly controversial Calvinist minister from Utrecht. He appended a translation of the Tedworth material to his *Wederlegging van B. Bekker's Betoverde wereldt* (1692) published shortly after Bekker's first two volumes, and has been characterized as 'Bekker's most vociferous antagonist'.⁶⁹ In his *Omstandig bericht* (1693), Bekker includes Koelman among those not worthy of a response (*niet weerdig zijn*). However, given the focus of Koelman's translation, it is possible to interpret Bekker's extended refutation of that case in volume four as an indirect reply to Koelman.⁷⁰ In his analysis, Bekker discounts the Tedworth case as a

complete fraud, but acknowledges the influence it has had by presenting a secondary argument for the benefit of those who insist on its truth. He contends that even if the relation was true, it would only prove the existence of spirits and their ability to affect the material world. The Tedworth case would not, according to Bekker, prove the existence of diabolic witchcraft.⁷¹

Koelman was ostracized by the intellectual and theological community in Holland after being exiled in 1695 for opposing secular influence in Church matters.⁷² Characterized as ‘one of the most outspoken and influential of the Dutch Further Reformation divines, as well as one of the most severely opposed’, his association with the Tedworth case may well have discouraged his contemporaries from referencing Glanvill in their own works.⁷³ Nevertheless, the speed with which Koelman published his translation suggests that the *Saducismus* was not only known in Amsterdam, but readily available to him. This is less surprising given the intellectual exchange between the Cambridge Platonists and Dutch Arminians throughout the seventeenth century and Koelman’s particular interest in English texts.⁷⁴ Indeed, my preliminary analysis of Koelman’s text suggests that he was particularly interested in portions of the *Saducismus* which were associated with More and this too would have influenced the reception of Glanvill in Holland. In his preface to his translation, Koelman introduces the ‘history’ (*Historie*), based on the version that appears as Relation I, without any mention of Glanvill or discussion of the significance of his approach to the investigation. Instead, Koelman emphasizes the analysis provided by Henry More, ‘a great philosopher’ (*een Groot Filosooph*) and ‘most famous Englishman’ (*de zeer vermaarde Engelsman*).⁷⁵ More’s reputation was enhanced in the Dutch context through his connection to Phillip van Limborch, a preeminent Remonstrant and Professor of Theology at Amsterdam.⁷⁶

Koelman’s subjugation of Glanvill’s work to More’s philosophy stands out in comparison to the treatment of Glanvill in the German context as many of More’s additions were omitted from the German translation.⁷⁷ This divergence suggests that Koelman’s translation represents a separate line of transmission from that which leads to the German translation of the *Saducismus*.⁷⁸ Despite this emphasis on More, Koelman engages more fully with Glanvill when he continues his tirade against Bekker in a second epic work of over 900 pages, the *Schriftmatige leere des geestes* (1695). Published the year Koelman died, this work reproduces several more relations from the 1689 edition of the *Saducismus* and directly engages with Glanvill’s views on the Witch of Endor, Episcopus and Greatrakes, and discusses his relationship to Baxter, Sinclair, Cotton Mather and Henry More.⁷⁹

The *Saducismus triumphatus* in Germany

While it appears that the *Saducismus* was transmitted to Germany independently of Koelman’s Dutch translations, the entanglement of the *Saducismus* in the Bekker controversy does seem to have inspired interest in the

work in Germany. Notably, neither Leibniz nor Morhof, as discussed in Chapter 6, mention Glanvill's investigations into witchcraft or his writings on the immortality of the soul. Nor were any of Glanvill's works on the Royal Society or experimental philosophy published in German. In contrast, a Latin summary of the *Saducismus* was published in the *Acta eruditorum*, Germany's pre-eminent scientific periodical, in 1683, some nine years prior to the Bekker controversy.⁸⁰ Then, following Bekker's controversial publications, a German translation was published entitled *Saducismus triumphatus, Oder Vollkommener und klarer Beweis Von Hexen und Gespenstern Oder Geister-Erscheinungen* in 1701.⁸¹

Very little is known about the circumstances of the German translation of the *Saducismus*. This is unfortunate, as the translator/editor made some interesting decisions in this work, including removing most of the material added by Collins and More, with the exception of the majority of advertisements accompanying the Collection of Relations. Those advertisements that provided further details of the source or event have been translated, while others have been modified or omitted.⁸² The translation itself is closely based on the text as it appears in the posthumous editions, and when transitions between chapters have been changed, it is usually to remove personalising details, such as comments about Glanvill's collaborative discussions. In these instances, the translated text often reverts to something more similar to the text of an earlier edition, either *A Blow at Modern Sadducism* (Wing G799) or the 1676 essay version of the Letter (Wing G809).⁸³ This suggests that while primarily based on one of the posthumous editions, the German editor most likely had access to one of the printings from 1668 and a copy of Glanvill's *Essays* of 1676. However, it is not readily apparent which posthumous printing the translator was working from. In the closing comments to the work the German editor mentions the first edition of the *Saducismus* (*erster Edition*).⁸⁴ Thus it is tempting to presume this was the edition the translator was using. This would, for example, account for the omission of the Continuation of the Collection of Relations.⁸⁵ However, this decision would also be consistent with the translator's stated intention to omit the other material More added, including the translation of the *Enchiridion metaphysicum*, Glanvill's "A Whip for the Droll" (a published letter to More) and Horneck's "Account of what Happened in the Kingdom of Sweden".⁸⁶

The *Saducismus* was most influential in Germany through the work of Peter Goldschmidt, a pastor in Sterup, in the Duchy of Schleswig. Though his first work on witchcraft, the *Höllischer Morpheus* (1698 & 1704), is better known, Goldschmidt wrote a second work on the subject, the *Verworffener Hexen- und Zauberer-Advocat* (1705).⁸⁷ Goldschmidt mentions Glanvill only briefly in the introduction to the *Höllischer Morpheus*, showing more interest in More's *Antidote against Atheisme*.⁸⁸ However, he references the German edition of the *Saducismus* throughout the *Verworffener Hexen-Advocat*, praising Glanvill's defence of the true faith against atheism and drawing on the many accounts of witchcraft presented in the Collection.⁸⁹

Furthermore, although he ultimately discounts the theory, Goldschmidt also gives a rare account of Glanvill's PVH, showing his deeper level of engagement with the text. According to Goldschmidt, Glanvill's theory that witches must allow their familiar spirits to suck blood from their body so that the familiars can instil (*einflösset*) the witches with their spiritual and hellish effects (*seine Geistische und höllgiffte Würckungen*) and through these means exert control over them, is a great error (*grossen Irrthum*), as is his belief that spirits are embodied (*daß die Geister gewisse subtile Leiberchens haben*). For Goldschmidt believes that the suckling of familiars described in the *Saducismus* can only be interpreted as Satan's way of confirming his covenant with the witch (*zu Vesthaltung seines Bundes*).⁹⁰

While we can be confident that Goldschmidt used the German translation of the *Saducismus* in this assessment, he does not shed any further light on its production.⁹¹ There are, however, some grounds for speculation about how Goldschmidt came to be aware of, and so interested in, Glanvill's book. Goldschmidt was especially influenced by both Christian Kortholt and Morhof while studying at the University of Kiel.⁹² As discussed in Chapter 6, we know from his *Polyhistor* that Morhof, reportedly Goldschmidt's close friend, was familiar with Glanvill's philosophical works.⁹³ However, Kortholt would also likely have been interested in both Glanvill and More. Kortholt was similarly interested in witchcraft, particularly the Swedish trials,⁹⁴ and also wrote ardently against atheism in several publications.⁹⁵

There is no evidence at this time that either Morhof or Kortholt was directly involved in the production of the German edition of the *Saducismus*. However, one element of the German *Saducismus* does suggest the translator was linked to the north central tip of Germany, in the region of Schleswig-Holstein. The only significant addition to the text of the German edition occurs in the editorial note at the end of the first book. On the grounds that the case was similar to that of Valentine Greatrakes, the editor here adds his own relation, an account of the faith healer Jean Thamsen (or Thamssen), who was endorsed by the Consistory of Husum in 1680–1.⁹⁶ The Thamsen case was reported in only two pamphlets which predate the publication of the German *Saducismus*, and given Goldschmidt was originally from Husum, this, combined with his later use of the work, raises the possibility that Goldschmidt was our translator. The original woodcut frontispiece of the German *Saducismus* (Figure 8.1) provides further circumstantial evidence for this possibility. Although this scene featuring the Witch of Endor is neither signed nor original (it is a copy of an engraving by Georg Eimart, originally printed 1695), Goldschmidt engraved the prints for both the *Höllischer Morpheus* (Figure 8.2) and the *Verworffener Hexen-Advocat* (Figure 8.3), although in the latter case the image was a copy of a scene which appeared in Gottlieb Spitzel's *Die Gebrochne Macht der Finsternüß* (1687).⁹⁷ These signed images demonstrate that Goldschmidt had both an ability and interest in illustration, attributes that may well have inspired the divergence from the less dramatic Endor scene by William Faithorne that appears in the English editions of the work.⁹⁸



Figure 8.1 Unknown artist, *The Witch of Endor Conjures Samuel from the Tomb*. Frontispiece engraving in Joseph Glanvill, *Saducismus triumphatus, oder Vollkommener und klarer Beweisß von Hexen und Gespenstern* (1701).

Source: Collection of the Goettingen State and University Library. 8 PHYS I, 353:1. CC-BY-SA.



Figure 8.2 Peter Goldschmidt, *Höllischer Morpheus*. Frontispiece Engraving in Peter Goldschmidt, *Höllischer Morpheus* (1698).

Source: © DIPF/BBF Bibliothek für Bildungsgeschichtliche Forschung, Signatur: AD 4027; CD 584; RF 24.



Figure 8.3 Peter Goldschmidt, *Witches Sabbath*. Frontispiece Engraving in Peter Goldschmidt, *Verworffener Hexen-und Zauberer-Advocat* (1705).

Source: Collection of the Goettingen State and University Library. 8 PHYS I, 353 (5). CC-BY-SA.

We may never be certain whether the *Saducismus* came to Germany through the same direct channels as Glanvill's philosophical works, or whether its relationship to the Bekker debate was the primary motivation for interest in the work, despite the earlier summary in the *Acta eruditorum*. Nevertheless, it seems that Glanvill's philosophical reputation played an important role in the availability of the *Saducismus* in Germany and in the decision to devote the necessary resources to its translation. Despite the uncertainty in the circumstances of the translation, consideration of these possibilities is worthwhile, given the stark contrast between the evident availability of both the English and German editions of the *Saducismus*, and the great difficulty Christian Thomasius had in obtaining copies of the works of Glanvill's respondents, particularly Wagstaffe's *Question of Witchcraft Debated* and Webster's *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*.⁹⁹

Thomasius has become prominent in recent scholarship exploring changing attitudes to witchcraft and superstition in Europe, having famously changed his view on the prosecution of witches.¹⁰⁰ Initially supporting the practice, Thomasius became a leading opponent of German witch-trials and an advocate for the secularization of the German legal system as demonstrated in his *De crimine magiae* (1701). Thomasius was incensed after reading the *Saducismus* and Goldschmidt's *Verworffener Hexen-Advocat*, and after searching for a copy of Webster for several years, he had the work translated at his own personal expense.¹⁰¹ He waited until 1719 to publish his translation of Webster: *Untersuchung der vermeinten und so genannten Hexereyen*, but followed this comparatively quickly with translations of Beaumont: *Historisch- Physiologisch- und Theologischer Tractat von Geistern, Erscheinungen, Hexereyen und andern Zauber-Händeln* (1721) and Hutchinson: *Historischer Versuch von der Hexerey* (1726). The timing of these publications coincides with the intensification of the debate between Thomasius, Christian Wolff and several German Pietists over the relationships between theology, philosophy, morality and the exercise of civil power.¹⁰²

In the prefaces to these translations, Thomasius derides Glanvill's supposedly rational defence of the existence of witchcraft and claims, despite having already revised his opinion of witchcraft and embarked on his campaign of secularization, that he approached the work with an open mind, prepared to accept the error of his ways.¹⁰³ Yet, ultimately, his critique primarily focuses on the eccentricities of More's editing, the editorial choices of the German translator, the quality of the translation,¹⁰⁴ and the length and tediousness of the Collection of Relations (which he attributes directly to Glanvill).¹⁰⁵ Thomasius concludes the work is a series of suppositions designed to baffle and fool less educated folk into believing Glanvill's dubious proofs, and does not directly engage with the PVH and other hypotheses about the mechanisms of witchcraft or the methodology behind the collecting of contemporary relations. This dismissive attitude is reflected in Thomasius' statement that upon comparing Glanvill's book to Webster's, he found Glanvill's full of deceptions (*Betrügereyen*), while Webster was, in his

opinion, an unassuming and rational man (*daß Webster ein bescheidener, vernünfftiger Mann sey*).¹⁰⁶

Thomasius's disinterest in Glanvill himself is also suggested by the disproportionate eight pages of the forty-page preface he devotes to Goldschmidt. He argues that Goldschmidt was so old and entrenched in his dogmatic misconceptions, that to respond to the attack published in the *Verworffener Hexen-Advocat* would only have encouraged Goldschmidt further. In such cases, he argues, it is better to wait until such people die before refuting them in print.¹⁰⁷ Thomasius's decision to dismiss the arguments of both Glanvill and Goldschmidt with minimal engagement suggests that perhaps these authors were not his primary targets, and that these translated publications were part of a larger agenda related to his dispute with Wolff. Nevertheless Thomasius' outright dismissal of Glanvill, and his philosophical reputation, seems to indicate two things: a personal bias inspired by the association of the Glanvill translation with Goldschmidt, and a shift beyond scepticism to a dogmatic denial of supernatural beliefs and those who held them. The contrast between Thomasius's reasoned arguments in his *De crimine magiae* and the vitriolic preface to the Webster translation provides an extreme example of Thomasius's increasingly secularized intellectual outlook. Indeed his characterization of Goldschmidt and Glanvill as among the last of the dogmatic scaremongers, while dramatic, provides a further demonstration that as the eighteenth century progressed, believers in witchcraft, ghosts and apparitions were increasingly refuted with mere ridicule rather than serious argument.

The philosophical approach Glanvill applied to his study of witchcraft, and the other contributions he made to the dissemination of philosophical ideals, did not garner significant attention again until the 1900s.¹⁰⁸ According to Thomasius, Glanvill's arguments about witchcraft had been sufficiently refuted in the course of the English debate about his work, at the expense of his reputation as a philosopher—a trend which is borne out across much of the Glanvill scholarship covered in this book. I cannot here explore the question of what Thomasius hoped to achieve through the publication of this series of works in relation to the situation in Halle and his dispute with Wolff. However, in the context of the study of Glanvill, it is perhaps most interesting that Thomasius ultimately chose to rely on English materials to refute Goldschmidt and the *Saducismus*. Not only does this strategy confirm a keen awareness of the English literature, but it also suggests a willingness to defer to the English material rather than composing a rebuttal tailored for his German audience. Indeed this decision is intriguingly reminiscent of Leibniz and Morhof's use of Glanvill's work to characterize the activities and methods of the Royal Society as discussed in Chapter 6. In combination, these two episodes suggest an intellectual tendency that reflects the complex nature of the German engagement with English

philosophical and theological texts in this period, a topic which is worthy of further study.

Analysing the reception of the *Saducismus* in this broader context highlights the importance of the collaborative nature of the work and its association with the methodology and leading figures of the Society. This analysis has reaffirmed how an exploration of the relationship between Glanvill's investigations into witchcraft and his devotion to the experimental methodology of the Society enriches our understanding of Glanvill's philosophical views as well as the reception of Glanvill and his works. This understanding is achieved in a manner that is sensitive to the potential distortions in perceptions of Glanvill which arose because of his untimely death and the considerable influence that Henry More necessarily exerted over the final shaping of the *Saducismus triumphatus* and the Collection of Relations.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

1. ST81_WingG822_310(3).
2. For examples see: ST81_WingG822_37(3), 307(3).
3. ST81_WingG822_sig.Aa5v, 15(3).
4. ST81_WingG822_sig.A3v.
5. Additional Relations I and II from: Robert Plot, *The Natural History of Oxford-Shire: Being an Essay toward the Natural History of England* (Oxford, 1677). Relation III is from: George Sinclair, *The Hydrostaticks* (Edinburgh, 1672).
6. Margaret Agar is the name of the witch who features in Relations V and VI. ST81_WingG822_168(3).
7. Relation XXV, for example, is particularly brief while Table 3 highlights several relations where basic information such as approximate dates or location are missing from the text.
8. Prior, "Glanvill," 187–193, esp.189. Cf. Burns, *Great Debate*, 19–20, 29–32; BMS68_WingG800_4–7, 38–40.
9. Neither Glanvill's interest nor involvement can be demonstrated in the collection of fourteen of these seventeen relations, see Table 3. For examples of this strong link between More and the *Saducismus* see: Popkin, "Spiritualistic Cosmologies," 101; Jasper Reid, *The Metaphysics of Henry More* (Dordrecht; New York: Springer, 2012), 7; Michael Hunter, *Robert Boyle, 1627–91: Scrupulosity and Science* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2000), 224; "Joseph

- Glanvill,” in Richard Golden, ed. *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006). For contemporaneous examples see: Cotton Mather, *Late Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions* (London, 1691), sig.A6v.
10. Henry, “More versus Boyle,” 70; Waller, *Leaps*, esp. 28–29; Hunter, *Boyle*, esp. 102; Lawrence Principe, *The Aspiring Adept: Robert Boyle and His Alchemical Quest: Including Boyle’s ‘Lost’ Dialogue on the Transmutation of Metals* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 203ff; Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 297, 308, 310.
 11. Webster, *Displaying*, 41.
 12. Glanvill-Boyle_25/1/[1678]_5:15.
 13. Boyle-Glanvill_10/2/1678_5:20–21.
 14. On the sequel to the *Experimenta et observationes physicae*, which Boyle was working on prior to his death see: Michael Hunter, ed. *Archives of the Scientific Revolution: The Formation and Exchange of Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Woodbridge, UK; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1998), 128; Hunter, “Decline of Magic,” 407.
 15. George Hicks and Samuel Pepys are both known to have received the work. Hunter, *Occult Laboratory*, 9–10.
 16. Hunter, *Occult Laboratory*, 3–4.
 17. Hunter, *Boyle*, 230–231. Hunter suspects that Boyle intended to dedicate the work to John Beale. Cf. Hunter, “Decline of Magic,” 407.
 18. One of the latest known confirmations of Beale’s belief in supernatural phenomena, including his own precognitive abilities, takes the form of a letter Beale-Boyle_12/10/1670_4:189–193. Beale also recruited Boyle’s help in the gathering of testimonial evidence regarding Greatrakes. Elmer, *Miraculous Conformist*, 143, 146–149.
 19. “Henry More to Samuel Hartlib, [n.d.]” Sheffield University Library (SUL), H[artlib] P[apers], 18/1/42A; “John Worthington to Henry More (addressed via Samuel Hartlib) [n.d.]” SUL, HP, 28/2/58B; 18/1/9A-B. As cited in Elmer, *Miraculous Conformist*, 145.
 20. BL, MS Sloane 648; Penman, “*Omnium exposita rapinae*,” 26. Cf. Chapter 1.
 21. Colepresse-Oldenburg_2/4/1668_4:297. Cf. Samuel Colepresse, “An Account of Some Observations Made by Mr. Samuel Colepresse at and Nigh Plimouth, Anno 1667, by Way of Answer to Some of the Quaeries concerning Tydes,” *Philosophical Transactions* 3 (1668): 632–634. For summaries of other curiosities provided by Colepresse see: Birch, *History*, 2: 157, 196.
 22. Colepresse-Oldenburg_2/4/1668_4:297.
 23. Oldenburg-Boyle_12/11/1667_3:592.
 24. Colepresse-Oldenburg_2/4/1668_4:294–299.
 25. Fairfax-Oldenburg_12/11/1667_4:183–184.
 26. Fairfax’s six contributions to the *Philosophical Transactions* included: Nathaniel Fairfax, “Divers Instances of Peculiarities of Nature Both in Men and Brutes,” *Philosophical Transactions* 2 (1666): 549–551; Nathaniel Fairfax, “Anatomical Observations on a Humane Body, Dead of Odd Diseases,” *Philosophical Transactions* 2 (1666): 546–549. Cf. J. M. Blatchly, “Fairfax, Nathaniel (1637–1690),” in *DNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com (homepage).
 27. As this letter was written on 18 February 1667/8, it could have been any of the first three editions of Glanvill’s Letter of Witchcraft that Fairfax read. However as the Preface to the fourth edition was dated June 1668 (BMS68_WingG800_sig.B5v), either the second or third edition (PC67_Wing G832 or BMS68_WingG799) seem the most likely candidates.
 28. BMS68_WingG800_116–117.

29. Nelson-Oldenburg_22/8/1668_5:24–25 n.2.
30. More drew material for his additional relations from two additional FRS: Thomas Willis and Robert Plot. See Table 4. Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 297. It has also been suggested that John Wilkins, FRS provided More with additional material: Webster, *Paracelsus to Newton*, 94.
31. For a discussion of instances where FRS were called in to assess claims of wondrous deeds, such as Greatrakes's healing abilities, Jan Vermaasen's ability to identify colours through touch and Arthur Coga's cure of his melancholy through a sheep blood infusion, see: Elmer, *Miraculous Conformist*, esp. 151–152; Simon Schaffer, "Regeneration: The Body of Natural Philosophers in Restoration England," in *Science Incarnate: Historical Embodiments of Natural Knowledge*, ed. Christopher Lawrence and Steven Shapin (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 83–120. Cf. Table 3 and Table 4. For Hunter's view that the Society never formally engaged with the supernatural see: Hunter, "Royal Society and the Decline of Magic," 107.
32. Boyle, "General Heads," 186–189; Boyle, "Touching Mines," 330–343.
33. Boyle, "General Heads," 186–187, 189.
34. AAQM68_Phil.Trans.3_771. For the first part of Glanvill's report on the Mendip Mines see: ACM67_Phil.Trans.2_525–527. Both this first contribution and Glanvill's further investigation were sanctioned by the Fellows when Oldenburg presented the first report at the meeting on 10 October 1667. Birch, *History*, 200.
35. Boyle, "Touching Mines," 330–343.
36. In one account Bladud himself was described as a necromancer, in the other it was claimed that he hired a necromancer to create the Bath springs. OBS69_Phil.Trans.4_982.
37. Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956, 23 n.70; J. W. Gough, *The Mines of Mendip* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), 134–137.
38. Boyle-Glanvill_18/9/1677_4:455–457; Glanvill-Boyle_7/10/[1677]_4:460–461; Glanvill-Boyle_2/11/[1677]_4:467–468; Glanvill-Boyle_25/1/[1678]_5:15–16; Boyle-Glanvill_10/2/1678_5:20–21; Glanvill-Boyle_24/2/[1678]_5:37–38.
39. Boyle-Glanvill_18/9/1677_4:456.
40. Hunter, *Boyle*, 102.
41. For the details of this exchange between Boyle, Beale and Jessey see: Elmer, *Miraculous Conformist*, 151. For examples of Jessey's anti-royalist wonder treatises see: Henry Jessey, *The Lord's Loud Call to England* (London, 1660); [Henry Jessey], *Eniautos terastios, mirabilis annus, or The Year of Prodigies and Wonders* (1661); [Henry Jessey], *Mirabilis annus secundus, or, The Second Part of the Second Years Prodigies* ([London], 1662). Cf. Walsham, *Providence*, 68; David S. Katz, "Menasseh Ben Israel's Christian Connection: Henry Jessey and the Jews," in *Menasseh Ben Israel and His World*, ed. Yosef Kaplan, Henry Méchoulan, and Richard H. Popkin (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1989), esp. 119–120; Warren Johnston, *Revelation Restored: The Apocalypse in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2011), 71–73.
42. Walsham, *Providence*, 218–224.
43. Boyle-Glanvill_10/2/1678_5:20–21.
44. Glanvill also confirms this when he informs Boyle he has borrowed Robert Hunt's notebooks. Glanvill-Boyle_7/10/[1677]_4:460–461.
45. A bibliography of these works, divided into general reference areas, is included in Davies, "Science in an Enchanted World," appendix eight.
46. The debate between More and Baxter following More's publication of the *Saducismus* and *The Zealous and Impartial Protestant* was introduced in Chapter 3. Cf. Davies, "More Than a Mouthpiece?," 227–230.

47. Richard Baxter, *The Certainty of the Worlds of Spirits and, Consequently, of the Immortality of Souls of the Malice and Misery of the Devils and the Damned* (London, 1691).
48. Such predecessors primarily interested in ghosts and spirits include: More, *Antidote against Atheisme*; More, *Enthusiasmus triumphatus*, 1656; Casaubon, *A Treatise Proving Spirits*; Ludwig Lavater, *Of Ghostes and Spirites Walking by Nyght and of Strange Noyses, Crackes, and Sundry Forewarnynge, Whiche Commonly Happen before the Death of Menne, Great Slaughters, [and] Alterations of Kyngdomes* (London, 1572).
49. Richard Bovet, *Pandaemonium, or, The Devil's Cloyster Being a Further Blow to Modern Sadduceism, Proving the Existence of Witches and Spirits* (London, 1684), 162ff. Barry and Bostridge highlight the significant influence of Bovet's political beliefs on the *Pandaemonium*. Barry, *Witchcraft and Demonology*, Chapter 4; Bostridge, *Witchcraft and Transformations*, Chapter 4.
50. Matthew Hale, *A Collection of Modern Relations of Matter of Fact concerning Witches & Witchcraft* (London, 1693). Hale's son-in-law, Edward Stephens, edited the work under the pseudonym Socrates Christianus. Gilbert Geis and Ivan Bunn, *A Trial of Witches: A Seventeenth-Century Witchcraft Prosecution* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), 119.
51. John Anderson, "Sinclair, George (d. 1696?)," revised by Anita McConnell, online ed., October 2009, in *DNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com (homepage).
52. ST82_WingG823_16(5).
53. Sinclair, *Hydrostaticks*, 238. Glanvill had connections in Scotland, who had promised to send him relations for his Collection. However, we have little evidence concerning the extent, nature and duration of these connections. Glanvill-Boyle_25/1/[1678]_5:15.
54. Sinclair, *Satan's Invisible World*, Sig.A1v, 75. Compared with: ST82_WingG823.
55. Whiston, *Of the Dæmoniacks*, 74; Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 306. Examples of this same logic can be seen in ST81_WingG822_23–24(2).
56. Whiston, *Of the Dæmoniacks*, 72–73. Cf. William Whiston, *An Account of a Surprizing Meteor, Seen in the Air, March the 6th, 1715/16, at Night* (London, 1716).
57. For examples demonstrating the tendency to downplay the natural philosophical relevance of this type of investigation see: Hunter, "Decline of Magic," esp. 407; Snobelen, "Lust, Pride, and Ambition," 157.
58. As translated in: Hunter, *Boyle*, 231.
59. Francis Hutchinson, *An Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft* (London, 1718), 12–13. Although Bostridge acknowledges Hutchinson's use of the Society's experimental method, the relationship to Glanvill's approach is not acknowledged. Bostridge, *Witchcraft and Transformations*, 145.
60. Hutchinson, *Historical Essay*, 1718, 10–11. Cf. Darr, *Marks of an Absolute Witch*, 153–154. Hutchinson, like Glanvill, had his precursors, such as Thomas Browne, who turned his sceptical philosophy against the 'popular errors in Philosophy' and 'vulgar and senseless heresies in Divinity' that have arisen from 'Ironically mistakes' and flawed logic: errors such as the belief in griffins and cockatrices. Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia epidemica: Or, Enquiries into Very Many Received Tenents, and Commonly Presumed Truths* (London, 1646), 14, 118–121, 129–131. Cf. Westfall, *Science and Religion*, 151.
61. Essays76_WingG809_IV:5(3); Casaubon, *Of Credulity and Incredulity in Things Divine & Spiritual*, 27. Cf. Daston and Park, *Order of Nature*, 321; Westfall, *Science and Religion*, 47.
62. Conyers Middleton, *A Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers, Which Are Supposed to Have Subsisted in the Christian Church, from the Earliest Ages*

- through *Several Successive Centuries* (London, 1749), 26–27, 221–223. Cf. Preserved Smith, *A History of Modern Culture* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1934), 530.
63. Notestein, *History of Witchcraft*, 343. Cf. Richard Boulton, *The Possibility and Reality of Magick, Sorcery, and Witchcraft, Demonstrated, or, A Vindication of a Compleat History of Magick, Sorcery and Witchcraft* (London, 1722); Bostridge, *Witchcraft and Transformations*, 142; James Sharpe, *English Witchcraft: 1560–1736*, 6 vols, Volume 6: *The Final Debate* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2003), xxii; Malcolm Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 100; Barry, *Witchcraft and Demonology*, 106.
 64. For an example of English praise for Hutchinson: Comte [Jacques Daillon] du Lude, *Daimonologia: Or A Treatise of Spirits* (London, 1723). For Christian Thomasius's response to Hutchinson in the German context see below.
 65. Mather, *Recording of Illustrious Providences*, 156–158, 240–241; Increase Mather, *Concerning Evil Spirits Personating Men, Witchcrafts, Infallible Proofs of Guilt in Such as are Accused With That Crime*, ed. Samuel Willard (Boston, 1693), 21; Cotton Mather, *Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions* (Boston, 1689), sig.A4v; Cotton Mather, *Late Memorable Providences*, sig.A6v, sig.B1v; Cotton Mather, *The Wonders of the Invisible World: Being an Account of the Tryals of Several Witches Lately Executed in New-England* (Boston; London, 1693), 46, 60–62.
 66. This observation was written in 1697 and published in: John Hale, *A Modest Enquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft, and How Persons Guilty of That Crime May Be Convicted* (Boston, 1702).
 67. Samuel Fowler, *Salem Witchcraft: Comprising More Wonders of the Invisible World, Collected by Robert Calef; and Wonders of the Invisible World, by Cotton Mather, Together with Notes and Explanations* (Boston, 1865), 201. Fowler here cites: Robert Calef, *More Wonders of the Invisible World: Or, The Wonders of the Invisible World Display'd* (London, 1700), 80–81 and ST81_WingG822_4(3).
 68. Bekker, *Betoverde weereld*, Volume 1: Page 1, §22, 29, Volume 3: Chapters 2–3, and Volume 4: Chapter 21, §19–26.
 69. Joel Beeke and Randall Pederson, *Meet the Puritans* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2006), 772–774; Allison Coudert, “Henry More and Witchcraft,” in Hutton, *Henry More*, 121.
 70. For Bekker on Tedworth see: Bekker, *Betoverde weereld*, Volume 4: Chapter 21, §19–26. For Bekker on Koelman see: Balthasar Bekker, *Omstandig bericht, van Balthasar Bekker, S.T.D. predikant tot Amsterdam, van sijne particuliere onderhandelinge met D. Laurentius Homma, fal. ged. in zijn leven mede predikant aldaar* (Amsterdam, 1693), 2; Anna Simoni, “Department of Printed Books: Balthasar Bekker: Some Recent Additions,” *The British Library Journal* (1980): 117. Anthony van Dale does respond to Koelman directly in brief, see: Anthony van Dale, *Lasteringen van Jakob Koelman, in zijn zoo genaamde Wederlegging van B. Bekkers Betoverde wereld . . .* (Rotterdam, 1692). Cf. Fix, “Bekker in England,” 610.
 71. Bekker, *Betoverde weereld*, Volume 4: Chapter 21 §19–26. For Beaumont's response to Bekker on the Tedworth case see: Beaumont, *An Historical . . .*, 307–308. Cf. Simoni, “Recent Additions: Bekker,” 119; Fix, “Bekker in England,” 614–615; Andrew Fix, *Fallen Angels: Balthasar Bekker, Spirit Belief, and Confessionalism in the Seventeenth Century Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht; Boston: Kluwer, 1999), 74; “John Beaumont” in Golden, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft*, 106–107.
 72. Jan Pieter de Bie, Johannes Lindeboom, and G. P. van Itterzon, *Biographisch woordenboek van Protestantsche godgeleerden in Nederland*, 6 vols (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1943), 5:93–94.

73. Beeke and Pederson, *Meet the Puritans*, 773–774.
74. S[imon] P[atruck], *A Brief Account of the New Sect of Latitude-Men* (London, 1662), 5. Cf. Colie, *Light and Enlightenment*, esp. 7, 21–27. During his career, Koelman translated twenty-three English/Scottish works into Dutch. Beeke and Pederson, *Meet the Puritans*, 773, cf. 743.
75. Jacobus Koelman, “Van den duyvel van Tedworth . . . en van een brief van . . . Henricus Morus,” in *Wederlegging van B. Bekkers*, sig.Av2.
76. Limborch is also well known for his friendship with John Locke. Christie, *Worthington Papers*, 2.2:346. Cf. Colie, *Light and Enlightenment*, 36. Limborch also vouched for Jesch Claes, a woman from Amsterdam whose lameness was miraculously cured by a divine apparition according to Relation XIX. These events were also illustrated in Figure 2.1 in the bottom right panel.
77. A breakdown of which sections of the *Saducismus* appear in the Dutch and German translations has been included in Table 2.
78. Koelman was known in Germany and one of his most popular works, *De wekker der leeraaren* (1674), was translated into German as *Reinigung der Kinder Levi* (1703 and 1720) and *Wecker der Lehrer* (1711 and 1722).
79. Koelman, *Schriftmatige leere der Geesten*, 380, 615, 619, 763, 776, 777–779. For details of additional relations based on ST89_WingG825 translated in this work see Table 2.
80. Anon, “Saducismus triumphatus, or Ful and Plain Evidence concerning Witches and Apparitions: By Joseph Glanvil Late Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty and Fellow of the Royal Society [Summary],” *Acta eruditorum* (1683): 317–320. On the *Acta eruditorum* see: H. Laeven, *The »Acta eruditorum« under the Editorship of Otto Mencke (1644–1707)*, trans. Lynne Richards (Amsterdam; Maarssen: APA-Holland University Press, 1990), 202–210.
81. ST01.
82. For further details of the deviations made in the German edition see Table 2.
83. Compare: ST01_1:78–79 to ST81_WingG822_74–75(2) and BMS68_WingG799_78–79. Also compare: ST01_1:59 to ST81_WingG822_59–60(2) and Essays 76_WingG809_VI:56(5).
84. ST01_265.
85. That More alone decided to add the Continuation of the Collection is explicitly stated in the account of the second edition: ST82_WingG823_sig.A4v.
86. ST01_94.
87. Interestingly, both the *Höllischer Morpheus* and the *Verworffener Hexen-Advocat* were published by Gottfried Liebernicketel, the same Hamburg publisher that published the translation of the *Saducismus*.
88. Peter Goldschmidt, *Höllischer Morpheus* (Hamburg, 1698), 16.
89. Goldschmidt specifically refers to a quotation as ‘in der Vorrede des *Sadduceismi triumphati* übersetzt’. Peter Goldschmidt, *Verworffener Hexen- Und Zauberer-Advocat* (Hamburg: Gottfried Liebernicketel, 1705), sig.3r. Regarding praise of Glanvill’s defence of the belief in witchcraft see also page 12.
90. Goldschmidt, *Verworffener Hexen-Advocat*, 207–209.
91. He refers to the translator only as ‘Der Autor der des Glanvils *Sadduceismum triumphatum* aus dem Engländischen ins Hochteutsche übersetzt hat’. Goldschmidt, *Verworffener Hexen-Advocat*, 82.
92. J. U. Terpstra, “Petrus Goldschmidt aus Husum: ein Nordfriesischer gegner Balthasar Bekkers und Thomasius,” *Euphorion: Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte* 59 (1965): 362; Markus Meumann, “Peter Goldschmidt,” in *Lexikon zur Geschichte der Hexenverfolgung*, ed. Gudrun Gersmann, Katrin Moeller, and Jürgen-Michael Schmidt (2010), www.historicum.net/no_cache/persistent/artikel/7937/, accessed 26 March 2014.

93. Goldschmidt refers to Morhof as 'meines vormahls so hertzlich geliebten Freundes und getreuen Praeceptoris'. Goldschmidt, *Höllischer Morpheus*, 224. Cf. Terpstra, "Petrus Goldschmidt Aus Husum," 363.
94. Kortholt wrote a work on the Swedish witch-trials, *Nord-Schwedische Hexerey* (1677).
95. Terpstra, "Goldschmidt," 362.
96. The Greatrakes account occurs in this section's closing pages: ST81_WingG822_90–94(2), ST01_89–93. There is an untitled response to the Thamsen pamphlet by August Giese, an alderman and city clerk from Husum. This tract, written in 1688, is preserved in Kiel (UB Kiel, Cod. Ms. S.H. 242) but was also published in: August Giese, *Vier Tractaten* (Plön, 1711), 201–222. Cf. Jürgen Beyer, "Ein Husumer Gebetsheiler (1680/81)—Vom Bankrotteur Zur Heiligenfigur (Author's manuscript available: <http://lepo.it.da.ut.ee/~jbeyer/trellund.pdf>)," *Kieler Blätter zur Volkskunde* 37(2005): 4; Jürgen Beyer, "Hellige kvinder og mænd i de Lutherske lande, Ca. 1550–1700," *Chaos. Dansk-norsk tidsskrift for religionshistoriske studier* 20(1993): 102.
97. For the Eimart print see: Christoph Wiegel, ed., *Biblia ectypa: Bildnussen auss heiliger Schrifft alt und neuen Testaments . . .* (Augsburg, 1695), I Samuel 28. Cf. Charles Zika, "The Witch of Endor: Transformations of a Biblical Necromancer in Early Modern Europe," in *Rituals, Images, and Words: Varieties of Cultural Expression in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. F. W. Kent and Charles Zika (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 257–258. For the Spitzel print see: Gottlieb Spitzel, *Die gebrochne macht der Finsternüß* (Augsburg, 1687), 207. The image in Spitzel is a reversed copy after a scene in: Nicolas Rémy, *Daemonolatria* (Hamburg, 1693), 2:325.
98. ST81_WingG822_Frontispiece. Cf. Zika, "Witch of Endor," 255–257.
99. A translation of Wagstaffe's *Question of Witchcraft Debated* was also published in 1711. This was dedicated to Thomasius by Christian Weissbach. Weissbach knew Thomasius had long been searching for a copy of Wagstaffe as Thomasius had employed him to complete the Webster translation. [Christian Weissbach], "Preface," in John Wagstaff, *Gründlich ausgeführte Materie von der Hexerey*, trans. Christian Weissbach (Halle in Magdeburgischen, 1711). Cf. Christian Thomasius, "Preface," in John Webster, *Untersuchung der vermeinten und so genannten Hexereyen*, ed. Christian Thomasius (Halle, 1719), 26.
100. Marcus Hellyer, "Translator's Introduction," in Friedrich Spee von Langenfeld, *Cautio criminalis, or a Book on Witch Trials*, ed. Marcus Hellyer (Charlottesville, VA; London: University of Virginia Press, 2003), xxxiii; Christian Thomasius, "On the Crime of Sorcery," in *Essays on Church, State, and Politics*, ed. Ian Hunter, Thomas Ahnert, and Frank Grunert (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2007), 207–254; Christian Thomasius, "Witchcraft and the Law, 1702," in Kors and Peters, *Witchcraft in Europe*, 444–448.
101. We know the translation was certainly complete before 1711. Christian Thomasius, "Preface," 25–26.
102. The following year, in 1720, Wolff published his *Vernünfftige Gedanken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen, und allen Dingen überhaupt*. This work 'signalled the return of a full-blooded metaphysical scholasticism to the Protestant university', ultimately rendering Thomasius limited, long-term influence. Ian Hunter, *Rival Enlightenments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 36.
103. Thomasius, "Preface," 20, 22.
104. Thomasius found the German in the translation so bad, he could have vomited in disgust after reading it! (*Nun hätte ich mich bald vor Eckel übergeben, als*

ich bey Lesung der ersten Worte in der Dedication . . .) The text has, he claims, been rendered so poorly that several passages are virtually incomprehensible without reference to the English original. Thomasius, "Preface," 20–1.

105. Thomasius also described the Tedworth account as '*ein langes und breites schwatzet*'. For his complaint about the insertion of additional material and unidentified editorial comments throughout the Collection see: Thomasius, "Preface," 21–22.
106. Thomasius, "Preface," 22–24.
107. Thomasius, "Preface," 10–17, esp.17.
108. Redgrove, *Glanvill*.

Conclusion

In seeking to explore Glanvill's thought as exemplified in his highly influential *Saducismus triumphatus*, I have highlighted the importance of the relationships between Glanvill's work on witchcraft and both his philosophical and theological interests. A detailed comparative analysis of all the editions of the *Saducismus* highlighted the centrality of Glanvill's Letter of Witchcraft to the understanding of Glanvill's approach to the investigation of witchcraft, a significance which is reflected in its role as the core component of all editions of the work. I argue that the Letter presents philosophical arguments for the existence of diabolic witchcraft and a natural philosophical framework within which the Drummer of Tedworth report, and the posthumous Collection of Relations, can best be understood. This framework enables Glanvill's work on witchcraft to be integrated into our understandings of both his philosophical and theological works and enhances our understanding of Glanvill's relationships with several of his patrons and key Fellows, such as Robert Boyle, Henry More, John Beale and Henry Oldenburg. However, this analysis also highlighted the significant impact that Henry More had on the posthumous editions of the *Saducismus* and the issues this raises when attempting to understand and evaluate Glanvill's thought. For that reason I have also sought to differentiate between More's shaping of the *Saducismus* and the intellectual and social influence of Glanvill's thought in an attempt to identify ways in which this seminal work contributes effectively to our understanding of Glanvill's thought.

The explorations I have undertaken in this book have focused on four main themes:

- The contextualization of Glanvill's interest in witchcraft;
- Glanvill's natural philosophical approach to witchcraft;
- Glanvill's unified method; and
- The reception of Glanvill in England, Holland and Germany.

Glanvill's Interest in Witchcraft in Context

This book examines Glanvill's approach to witchcraft in a broader context than previous studies. This is achieved by focusing on the *Saducismus* and

its earlier versions, by re-evaluating his personal and professional networks as well as his relationship to the Royal Society, and by undertaking comparative analyses with the ideas expressed in his other philosophical and theological works. The prosopographical data presented mostly in Chapter 1 has suggested that Glanvill's intellectual and patronage networks were established much earlier in his career than previously thought, and that these networks had significant influence on the direction and nature of Glanvill's writings. In particular, the importance of Glanvill's brief time with Francis Rous has begun to emerge, with Rous providing a point of connection to several of Glanvill's other key patrons, including the Thynne family, the Brereton family, Henry More and Robert Hunt, as well as Glanvill's most significant patrons of the 1670s, Robert Boyle and Henry and Mary Somerset, then the Marquess and Marchioness of Worcester.

Most significantly, the contextualization of Glanvill's Letter of Witchcraft has demonstrated that several of Glanvill's key early patrons were united by their belief and interest in witchcraft cases. The involvement of several of these figures in the legal pursuit or natural philosophical investigation of witches emphasizes the importance of approaching the study of the Letter with methodological neutrality, of evaluating the work based on Glanvill's aims and the reception of his peers rather than by our own scientific standards. The greater legitimacy afforded to Glanvill's work on witchcraft through the interests and work of these supporters has influenced my further evaluation of the reception of Glanvill's work.

My study of Glanvill has built upon existing scholarship that has, with increasing interest since Moody Prior and George Kittredge, explored the relationship of Glanvill's ideas to Henry More and to the experimental philosophy of the Royal Society more broadly.¹ In this process, I also identified significant new potential in the study of Glanvill's relationship to the nonconformist minister Richard Baxter. I have shown how Baxter's influence is present throughout Glanvill's works: from his metaphysics as portrayed in the Letter and the *Lux orientalis*, to the mitigation of Glanvill's views on nonconformists as displayed in his *Zealous and Impartial Protestant*. However, the spatial restrictions of this book have prevented a full exploration of this relationship.

Glanvill's Natural Philosophical Approach to Witchcraft

Working with a book as large as the *Saducismus*, over 600 pages in its final form and appearing in eight true editions and at least thirteen printings between 1666 and 1726, was a particular hurdle in the design of this project. A detailed analysis of the posthumous editions combined with the broader contextualization of Glanvill's methodological approach, allowed me to identify how each section could most appropriately be used to enhance our understanding of Glanvill's thought and intentions. The results of this analysis impacted most on my approach to the famous Collection of Relations. While it is well known that Glanvill was working on the production of a

natural history of witchcraft similar in nature to the Collection, my detailed analysis of the Collections in the posthumous editions provides evidence that the published versions are most likely considerably different from what Glanvill would have produced himself. This assessment is supported by Henry More's editorial comments, the publisher's notes, and Glanvill's correspondence on his proposed method. This realization altered my approach to the evaluation of the Collection and its reception, as it became clear that the evaluation of Glanvill's intentions and methodology needed to be addressed distinctly from the reception of the *Saducismus* as published by More. This realization, in turn, highlighted again the importance of the philosophical framework provided by the Letter of Witchcraft to the reception of the Collection of Relations.

My exploration of Glanvill's Letter of Witchcraft builds on the work of Prior and Kittredge, who first drew attention to the Letter's role in establishing experimental philosophical value for the Tedworth report and the Collection of Relations. Prior and Kittredge demonstrated how these reports functioned as testimonial evidence used in line with the epistemological method of the Royal Society. I have demonstrated that Glanvill's approach to the study of witchcraft, and indeed his broader metaphysics, were influenced by the work of the Royal Society and other experimental philosophers in several other ways. When comparing Glanvill's explanations for witchcraft phenomena with that of other demonologists who supported or challenged the existence of demonic witchcraft in Chapter 2, Glanvill's poisonous vapours hypothesis (PVH) was identified as one of his main unique contributions to the witchcraft debate.

As detailed in Chapter 4, Glanvill used the notion that a suckling familiar 'doth not only suck the Witch, but in the action infuseth some poysonous ferment into her', in order to explain many key witchcraft phenomena. He also used the PVH to show how many of the arguments of his opponents, such as those relating to medical conditions and melancholic diseases in particular, could be just as effectively incorporated into theories of witchcraft.² Considering the PVH in relation to Glanvill's propagandistic works promoting the Society, it became evident that Glanvill had developed this hypothesis by relating existing demonological beliefs to contemporary scientific discoveries. The contemporary interests of experimental philosophers most relevant to Glanvill's development of the PVH seem to have been microscopic observations, air-pump experiments, attempts at blood transfusion and trials of intravenous medicines, and the iatrochemical medical theories that inspired them. These experimental explorations not only provided Glanvill with analogous mechanisms, which he could argue supported the notion that vaporous substances could be transferred from one being to another with verifiable physical effect, they also influenced Glanvill's approach to metaphysics more broadly.

As demonstrated in Chapter 3, the Letter of Witchcraft and the PVH also complement and clarify Glanvill's theories of souls and spirits as first

outlined in his *Lux orientalis*. By analysing these two works together, I have presented a more complete account of Glanvill's metaphysics. This broader picture in turn identifies and explains some of Glanvill's divergences from More's metaphysics, divergences which may help explain the dispute between Baxter and More that followed the publication of the *Saducismus* in 1681.

More importantly, my combined analysis of the Letter and the *Lux* has further highlighted how Glanvill developed his notions of spirits and explanations for witchcraft in accordance with his views of experimental philosophy. The physical immanence and knowability of Glanvill's metaphysics rested on the notion that spirits had subtle, aerial bodies. The possibility that the air-pump might soon enable the detection of the aerial bodies of spirits, or the poisonous vapours Glanvill hypothesized were transferred into witches by their demonic familiars, was implicit in several of his metaphysical and philosophical works.³ Forging this link between metaphysical phenomena and empirical experiments allowed Glanvill to make a compelling case that spirits were metaphysically immanent, that they created observable effects that were appropriate subjects for natural philosophy and experimental science. In this way Glanvill provided a philosophical foundation for an empirical science of witchcraft, supported by the potential experimentally verifiable hypotheses provided in the Letter of Witchcraft (especially the PVH). Glanvill's contributions to Boyle's foundational natural history of the Mendip mines and Bath springs, I show, also support the interpretation of the Collection of Relations as a preliminary natural history of witchcraft that sought to provide the foundation for future experimental investigations.⁴

Although reports that Glanvill was derided in the coffee-houses and Inns of Court have not gone unnoticed in the scholarship,⁵ I have shown that his rhetorical skill, intimate knowledge of the methodology of the Royal Society, and Pyrrhonic avoidance of dogmatic statements ensured that his presentations were well received by many experimental philosophers and significant members of both the conforming and nonconformist clergy. Glanvill's successes in this regard were particularly reflected in the encouragement his investigations into witchcraft received from Robert Boyle, who was, in contrast, highly critical of More's similar attempts to use his hylarchic experiments as proof of a Spirit of Nature.⁶ Glanvill's largely overlooked contributions to the *Philosophical Transactions* also demonstrate how he linked his epistemological method to Boyle's and the work of the Society. These contributions, containing two rare references to supernatural phenomena in the Society's journal, further demonstrate that supernatural phenomena were perceived as having a role in seventeenth-century natural history and experimental philosophy.

The interpretation of Glanvill's works on witchcraft as steps toward a science of the supernatural is further supported by comparative analyses of the editions of Glanvill's other major works, including the three versions of

The Vanity of Dogmatizing, the *Plus ultra* and Glanvill's collected works published in 1676–1677. My analysis of these works clarified Glanvill's understanding of the epistemological method of the Royal Society, thereby enhancing our understanding of how he applied this methodology to his Letter of Witchcraft, his Tedworth investigation and his conception of a Collection of Relations. These comparative analyses also indicate how the revisions Glanvill made to many of his works, including the Tedworth account, reflected his philosophical values and the stipulated aims of 'the committee for the improving of the English language'. This committee was established by the Society 'chiefly to improve the philosophy of the language' on 7 December 1664, that is, at the same meeting at which Glanvill was accepted as a member.⁷

Glanvill's Unified Method

By exploring the alignment between Glanvill's epistemological method and his approach to witchcraft across more works than have previously been considered together, I have identified much consistency in Glanvill's approach to a wide range of philosophical, metaphysical, theological and social issues. Glanvill's attempts to demonstrate that science and religion were aligned dominated his edited collections, especially *Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion* (1676). This volume contains seven essays, including "The Usefulness of Philosophy to Theology", a reworking of the *Philosophia pia* and "The Agreement of Reason and Religion", an edited version of the *Logou threskeia*. These essays, supported by other pastoral works and sermons, including his *The Way of Happiness* and *Catholick Charity*, present Glanvill's belief that true and unwavering faith requires both revelation and reason. In these essays and sermons, Glanvill advised his congregations of the power of reason and the philosophical training offered by the Royal Society to enhance faith and moral health both academically and physically. Natural philosophy is, according to these works, both a mechanism through which the humoural disturbances caused by the passions can be balanced, and the means through which one can ensure the best possible interpretation of Scripture.⁸ In Glanvill's view, learning to read the Book of Nature is inherently beneficial for the state of one's mind, body, soul and state of knowing. Thus it is unsurprising that Glanvill would consider experimental philosophy the most appropriate tool to employ when seeking to improve an understanding of the nature of spirits and diabolic witchcraft.

The Reception of Glanvill

The impact of Glanvill's advice to the family of Mary Somerset represents one way in which we need to broaden our understanding of the influence of Glanvill's work. Another is the reception of his writings in both Holland and Germany. Although this could only receive limited attention in this book, it

is clear that my exploration of the reception of Glanvill's *Scepsis scientifica* and *Plus ultra* in Leibniz's correspondence networks adds nuance and perspective to the interpretation of the broad impact of Glanvill's debate with Robert Crosse and Henry Stubbe, two vocal critics of the Royal Society.

Similarly the reception of the German translation of the *Saducismus triumphatus* (1701), particularly in the dispute between Peter Goldschmidt and Christian Thomasius, suggests that the so called Glanvill-Webster debate offers an interesting opportunity to examine the transmission of ideas between England and Germany in the period 1698 to 1726. Furthermore, the editorial decisions made in relation to both Koelman's partial Dutch translations and the German edition reconfirm how important it is to remain aware of More's involvement in the production, promotion and reception of the *Saducismus*.

The necessarily preliminary survey of Glanvill's reception after his death demonstrates how the reception of the *Saducismus* parallels shifts in social belief concerning demonic witchcraft. During the eighteenth century, the predominant witchcraft paradigm shifted, so that one was now more likely required to defend belief in witchcraft, rather than scepticism. The nature of the soul became the sole concern of priests and other spiritual advisors rather than natural philosophers. The Drummer who called down spirits to plague the Mompesson family in Tedworth ceased to be a marvel to be investigated, explained, and ultimately punished in a court of law; the Drummer became at best an entertaining gothic ghost story, and at worst an object of satire. Yet Hogarth's *Credulity, Superstition, and Fanaticism* (1762) featured the Drummer of Tedworth and Glanvill's book of witches prominently on the emotional gauge, demonstrating that after almost a century Glanvill and the Drummer were still emblematic figures in discussions of the nature of superstition. Moreover, by featuring Glanvill's book at the base of a device modelled on a barometer, Hogarth acknowledges Glanvill's attempt to study and explain witchcraft through experimental philosophy, even though the satirical context of the image clearly ridicules Glanvill's views.

Alan Kors and Edward Peters have noted that the pursuit of witches came to the fore, in part, because 'the new intellectual zeal of the fifteenth-century demonologists was more than matched by the increasing anxiety of the general public, and both were reinforced by the increasingly widespread activities of—and discoveries of witches by—the ecclesiastical and secular courts'.⁹ In the work of Joseph Glanvill, we appear to be witnessing part of the seventeenth-century dialogue between traditional and emerging ideas that eventually provided mainstream society with solid grounds on which to doubt the existence of demonic witchcraft. The failure of the *Saducismus*, or the Letter of Witchcraft, to launch an experimental science of supernatural phenomena that was capable of producing new, practically applicable knowledge of the natural world stood in contrast to the improvements for

mankind being made through, for example, chemistry and anatomy. This contrast was highlighted because of Glanvill's consistent application of his epistemological methodology across several intellectual fields, a methodology he derived from the practices of the Royal Society. Indeed, Glanvill's association with the emerging scientific outlook appears to have been the key distinguishing factor that made the *Saducismus* a central text in the debate over the metaphysical status of witchcraft and its relationship to natural and experimental philosophy.

Identifying Glanvill's application of a consistent epistemological methodology has enabled me to offer a unified reading of Glanvill's works, from the *Saducismus* and the *Lux*, to the *Scepsis* and the *Plus ultra*, and his sermons and pastoral works like the *Way of Happiness*. This unified reading also accounts for several texts that have not, until now, been fully assimilated into explanations of Glanvill's thought, including his contributions to the *Philosophical Transactions*. Greater nuance in the interpretations of Glanvill's defence of the existence of witchcraft and the key controversial episodes in his career shows how he can be understood within a broader intellectual context and clarifies the influence that his patrons and friends had upon his work. Similarly, identifying several exceptional elements of Glanvill's approach to witchcraft illustrates why his work was so appealing and why the *Saducismus* had such an enduring impact. Awareness of Glanvill's unified method also enables a deeper understanding of the intellectual processes through which attitudes to witchcraft changed over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Furthermore, focusing on how Glanvill presented his ideas, affiliating even his pastoral works with current experimental discoveries, has identified further implications of Glanvill's ideas about the mental health benefits of experimental philosophy. There are further opportunities of investigation into the possibility that Glanvill's advocacy of science as a mentally fortifying pursuit prefigured late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century trends that inverted elements of the traditional stereotype of the witch as a woman skilled in the use of herbal concoctions, by encouraging women, in particular, to botanize as a means of restoring and maintaining emotional balance.

Notes

1. Kittredge, *Witchcraft*; Prior, "Glanvill"; Cope, *Anglican Apologist*, 1956; Edelen, "Glanvill, More and Tedworth"; Bath and Newton, "'Sensible Proof of Spirits'."
2. PE66_WingG817A_17–18; BMS68_WingG800_18–20; ST81_WingG822_16–17(2).
3. PU68_WingG820_64; Essays76_WingG809_III:29(2).
4. Boyle, "General Heads"; Boyle, "Touching Mines"; ACM67_Phil.Trans.2_525–527; AAQM68_Phil.Trans.3_767–771; OBS69_Phil.Trans.4_977–982.
5. Hunter, "New Light"; Steneck, "Ballad"; Reichert, "Glanvill's *Plus ultra*."
6. Henry, "More versus Boyle," 57; Hall, *More and the Scientific*, 125, 143.
7. Medcalf, "Introduction," xxvi–xxvii. Cf. Birch, *History*, 1: 499.
8. Essays76_WingG809_IV:27(3).
9. Kors and Peters, *Witchcraft in Europe*, 16.

Tables

Table 1 Editions of Glanvill’s Book on Witches

Printings*	Versions**	Year Published	Edition According to Title Pages	Comments on Structure	Title	Wing number	Comments on Wing Catalogue	Page Numbering Restarts
English Editions by Glanvill								
1.	1a	1666	First Edition (unlabelled)		<i>A Philosophical Endeavour... In a Letter to... Robert Hunt...</i> Printed by J. Grismond for James Collins, 1666. PE66_WingG817A	G817a		1
2.	1b	1667	Second Edition (unlabelled)	Different title and title page. Otherwise same layout as G817a.	<i>Some Philosophical Considerations . . . in a Letter to . . . Robert Hunt . . .</i> Printed by E.C. for James Collins, 1667. PC67_WingG832	G832		1
3.	1b	1667	n/a	Unconfirmed.	<i>Some Philosophical Considerations . . . in a Letter to . . . Robert Hunt . . .</i> Printed by E.C. for James Collins, 1667. (Not viewed)	G832a	Identified as a reprint in Wing Catalogue.	-
4.	2	1668	Third Edition (unlabelled)	Unique title page. Includes preface. Slight revision to text, e.g. opening paragraph of Considerations. New layout. Tedworth account added.	<i>A Blow at Modern Sadducism . . . to Which Is Added the Relation of the Fam'd Disturbance . . . in the House of Mr. John Mompesson, with Some Reflections on Drollery and Atheisme .</i> E.C. for James Collins, 1668. PE68_WingG799	G799		1
5.	3	1668	Fourth Edition (labelled)	Unique title page and title. New layout. Text added, e.g. Chapter 13, p.57 and pp.79-85, 88-95. Minor textual revisions.	<i>A Blow at Modern Sadducism . . . And the Relation of the Famed Disturbance at the House of M. Mompesson. With Reflections on Drollery, and Atheisme .</i> E. Cotes for James Collins, 1668. BMS68_WingG800	G800 G819	Wing G819 seems to be a partial copy of G800. It may not be a separate printing as the layout and signature numbers match. Missing pages may just be vandalism	1
n/a	4	1676	n/a	Some content reorganised to rework into ‘essay’ format. Some new material. Some minor revisions to text.	“Essay VI: Against Sadducism in the matter of Witchcraft”. In <i>Essay</i> . Printed by J.D. for John Baker and Henry Mortlock, 1676. Essays76_WingG809	G809		6
6	5	1681	First posthumous edition (unlabelled)	See appendix three for new sections added by More. Letter has new layout. Text incorporates some revisions from G809.	<i>Saducismus triumphatus... concerning Witches and Apparitions. In Two Parts.</i> Edited with additions by Henry More. J. Collins and S. Lownds, 1681. ST81_WingG822	G822		3
7	6a	1682	Second posthumous edition (labelled)	New Layout. See appendix three for new sections added by More.	<i>Saducismus triumphatus . . . concerning Witches and Apparitions. In Two Parts. The First Treating of Their Possiblity, the Second of Their Real Existence.</i> Edited with additions by Henry More. Printed by Tho. Newcomb, for S. Lownds, 1682. ST82_WingG823	G823		7
8	6b	1688	Second posthumous edition (unlabelled)	Title pages and layout varied only.	<i>Saducismus triumphatus: Or, Full and Plaine Evidence concerning Witches and Apparitions. Proving Partly by a Choice Collection of Modern Relations, the Real Existence of Apparitions, Spirits, and Witches.</i> Edited with additions by Henry More. London: Printed for S. Lownds, 1688. ST88_WingG824	G824		1

Printings*	Versions**	Year Published	Edition According to Title Pages	Comments on Structure	Title	Wing Number	Comments on Wing Catalogue	Page Numbering Re-starts
English Editions by Glanvill (cont.)								
9	6c	1689	Third posthumous edition (labelled)	Main title page publisher's address to reader and layout varied only.	<i>Saducismus triumphatus . . . concerning Witches and Apparitions. In Two Parts. The First Treating of Their Possibility; the Second of Their Real Existence.</i> Edited with additions by Henry More. Revised by unknown. Printed for S. Lowndes at his Shop by the Savoy-Gate, 1689. ST89_WingG825	G825 G824b	Wing G824b appears to be a partial copy of G825, status as a separate printing unclear as missing pages may be attributed to vandalism as layout and signature numbers match.	1
10	7a	1700	Third posthumous edition with additions (labelled)	Title pages and layout varied. Re-includes a passage in the preface from the 1681 edition. Passage is omitted from the 1682-1689 editions. Omits the Account of the Second Edition.	<i>Saducismus triumphatus . . . concerning Witches and Apparitions. In Two Parts. The First Treating of Their Possibility. The Second of Their Real Existence.</i> Edited with additions by Henry More. Revised by unknown. printed for A.L. and sold by Roger Tuckyr, at the Golden Leg, the corner of Salisbury-street in the Strand, 1700. ST00_WingG826	G826		8
11	7b	1700	Third posthumous edition (unlabelled)	Title page only varied.	<i>Saducismus triumphatus . . . concerning Witches and Apparitions. The First Part Thereof Containing Philosophical Considerations, Which Defend Their Possibility. Whereunto Is Added, the True and Genuine Notion, and Consistent Explication of the Nature of a Spirit, for the More Full Confirmation of the Possibility of Their Existence.</i> Edited with additions by Henry More. Revised by unknown. N.p., 1700. ST00_WingG826A	G826a		8
12	8	1726	Fourth posthumous edition with additions (labelled)	New title spelling. New layout. Includes a short biography of Glanvill.	<i>Sadducismus triumphatus . . . concerning Witches and Apparitions. In Two Parts.</i> Edited with additions by Henry More. Revised by unknown. A. Bettesworth, and J. Batley; W. Mears, and J. Hooke, 1726. ST26	n/a		1
Posthumous Translated Editions								
13	10	1692		Partial translation of sections relating to Tedworth case. Based on 1682 edition or later. See appendix five.	Jakob Koelman, <i>Wederlegging van B. Bekkers betoverde Wereldt</i> . Amsterdam, Johannes Boekholt, 1692. Reference not abbreviated.	n/a		n/a
14	11	1701		Translation focusing on Glanvill's contributions. Most additions by More omitted. See appendix five.	Glanvill, Joseph. <i>Saducismus triumphatus, oder vollkommener und klarer Beweis von Hexen und Gespenstern oder Geister-Erscheinungen</i> . Translator unknown. Hamburg: Gottfried Liebernicketl, 1701.	n/a		2

* Printings: may refer to identical re-prints, or printings with minor changes to: capitalization, italicization, spelling, paragraph division, section numbering, the publisher's address to the reader, titlepages.

** Versions, or true content revisions: printings where portions of text or phrasing have been revised, or where sections have been added or

Table 2 Analysis of the Sections of Glanvill’s Book on Witches

Quick Reference Colour Key:

	Reliable indication of Glanvill’s thought
	Sections which must be used as indications of Glanvill’s thought with caution
	Sections which are unreliable indications of Glanvill’s thought

Section Title in ST81_WingG822	English Editions	Glanvill’s Involvement	Usefulness for Glanvill Scholarship	Translated in: - Koelman, Wederlegging van B. Bekkers (1692), Dutch - Koelman, Schriftmatige leere des Geestes (1695), Dutch - Saducismus triumphatus (ST01), German
PART I				
Publisher to the reader	All posthumous editions	Nil, written by James Collins.	Helps to determine Glanvill’s involvement in the other sections of the posthumous editions.	Koelman, <i>Wederlegging</i> (1692) Translated in part, p.28 ff.
An Account of this Second Edition	Appears only in the 1682, 1688 and 1689 editions	Nil.	Confirms Glanvill’s lack of involvement in other sections added to the second edition in 1682.	
Dr. H.M. his Letter with Postscript to Mr. J.G.	All posthumous editions	Indicated in advertisement (p.57) that Glanvill intended to publish this letter in some form.	No indication of whether Glanvill would have included all or part of this letter. As More is the actual author, this can only be used cautiously to illustrate Glanvill’s ideas. Useful contextualization for the reception of Glanvill.	Koelman, <i>Wederlegging</i> (1692) Translated in full, p. 40 ff. with a small amount of commentary inserted by Koelman. (eg. p.49-50).
Dedication: To the Illustrious Charles Duke of Richmond and Lenox (with Preface)	All from 1668 onwards	Unchanged from 1668.	Reliable.	<i>Saducismus triumphatus</i> (ST01) Translated in full sig.)(2r ff(1).
Some Considerations about Witchcraft ... in a letter to Robert Hunt	All editions	Original 1666. Expanded 1668.	Reliable.	<i>Saducismus triumphatus</i> (ST01) Translated in full p.1ff. Modifications made to section divisions (headings for Chapters 15-18 omitted) that fit with SR76_WingG830_VI:59, 62, 70, 73. Reverts to BMS68_WingG799_78(1). Modified advertisement explaining subsequent omissions and including the additional relation of Jean Thamsen. See p.94(1)ff.
The Easie, True, and Genuine Notion And Consistent Explication Of the Nature of a Spirit	All posthumous editions	Translation of two chapters of More’s <i>Enchiridion metaphysicum</i> .	Confirmed as More’s addition. Not reliably indicative of Glanvill’s theory of spirit.	
An answer to a Letter of a Learned Psychopyrist	1682 edition and following	Letters between More and Baxter written after Glanvill’s death.	Confirmed as More’s addition. Not reliably indicative of Glanvill’s theory of spirit.	
PART II				
Preface to Part II (including letters from Mr. Mompesson)	All posthumous editions	Evidently drafted by Glanvill Claimed that Glanvill intended to publish at least the first of Mompesson’s letters included immediately after (1681-Sig.Aa5v).	Reasonable indication of Glanvill’s intended response. Only partially drafted. Noted in advertisement that some small editorial changes were made.	Koelman, <i>Wederlegging</i> (1692) Translated in part p.29 ff. Letter from Mompesson to Glanvill translated in full p.32ff. Letter from Mompesson to Collins translated in full p.33ff. <i>Saducismus triumphatus</i> (ST01) Translated in full p.101(1)ff.

Section Title in ST81_WingG822	English Editions	Glanvill's Involvement	Usefulness for Glanvill Scholarship	Translated in: - Koelman, <i>Wederlegging</i> van B. Bekkers (1692), Dutch - Koelman, <i>Schriftmatige leere des Geestes</i> (1695), Dutch - <i>Saducismus triumphatus</i> (ST01), German
PART II (cont.)				
Proof of Apparitions, Spirits, Witches, from Holy-Scripture (including introduction)	All posthumous editions	Evidently drafted by Glanvill.	Reasonable indication of Glanvill's intended response, but only partially drafted. Some drafted material omitted.	Koelman, <i>Wederlegging</i> (1692) Translated in part: Part II Advertisement following section XXIX and preceding the Proof of Apparitions, Spirits and Witches, from a choice Collection of modern Relations, p.39ff. <i>Saducismus triumphatus</i> (ST01) Translated in full p.109(1)ff.
Proof of Apparitions, Spirits, and Witches from a choice Collection of modern Relations—Relation I	Revised and enlarged 1668 & all posthumous editions	Evidently re-drafted by Glanvill.	Revisions to posthumous edition unverifiable.	Koelman, <i>Wederlegging</i> (1692) Relation I, translated in full, p.5ff. <i>Saducismus triumphatus</i> (ST01) Relation and original Advertisement translated in full p.3(2)ff.
Proof of Apparitions, Spirits, and Witches from a choice Collection of modern Relations—Relation II	1668 & all posthumous editions	Unchanged from 1668.	Reliable.	<i>Saducismus triumphatus</i> (ST01) Relation and original Advertisement translated in full p.32(2)ff.
Proof of Apparitions, Spirits, and Witches from a choice Collection of modern Relations III—XI	All posthumous editions	Indications that Glanvill had a hand in the collection of some of these relations, but unable to discern how much if any of these accounts were drafted by him.	Some synergies with Glanvill's methods. Only cautious usage recommended.	Koelman, <i>Schriftmatige</i> (1695) Translated with modification: Relation 3, translated as Chapter 12. Relation 4, translated as Chapter 13. <i>Saducismus triumphatus</i> (ST01) 9 relations and original advertisements translated in full p.42(2)ff.
Proof of Apparitions, Spirits, and Witches from a choice Collection of modern Relations XII—XXVIII	All posthumous editions	Editorial notes suggest that most of these relations were collected, written up and drafted by More, some after Glanvill's death.	Some synergies with Glanvill's methods. However, as Glanvill's interest in these relations is not demonstrable, it is likely these are among 'the Number also of the Stories are much increased above what was designed by Mr. Glanvil'. ST81_WingG822_sig.A3v.	<i>Saducismus triumphatus</i> (ST01) Translated in part: 17 relations translated in full p.149(2)ff. However, advertisements changed after Relations 14, 26, 28. Advertisements added after Relations 16, 22. Advertisement omitted from after Relation 15, 27. Additional editorial comments after Relation 28.
A Continuation of the Collection: Relations I—VI	1682 edition and following	Editorial notes suggest that these relations were collated by More after Glanvill's death.	More's addition. Not reliably indicative of Glanvill's theory of spirit.	Koelman, <i>Schriftmatige</i> (1695) Relation 3, translated in part in Chapter 18 (citing both Glanvill and Sinclair). Relation 5, translated as Chapter 19.
A Whip for the Droll	All from 1668 onwards	Authored by Glanvill.	Reliable.	Koelman, <i>Wederlegging</i> (1692) Section I translated in full, p.36ff.
An Account of what happened in the Kingdom of Sweden	All posthumous editions	Translated from German trial records by Anthony Horneck.	Some synergies with Glanvill's methods but publisher indicates he did not intend to include it.	

Notes

Drafted by Glanvill: Indication in either the text of the relation or the relevant advertisement, or previous work, that Glanvill had some level of involvement in the production of the version of the relation which is presented in the text. These relations were clearly considered of high standard by Glanvill and though we cannot confirm he had not revised his opinion of these cases, chances are good that they reflect his standards of evidence.

Investigated by Glanvill: Indication in either the text of the relation or the relevant advertisement that Glanvill requested information about the event either in person or via letter. Where it is indicated that Glanvill received multiple letters about the case, it has been presumed that this occurred because of some request for further information. These relations evidently had potential for Glanvill, though we have no indication of his opinion of these cases. Glanvill's interest in these cases may have grown if he had not fallen ill.

Glanvill received letter only: Indication that Glanvill received the report from a correspondent, but no indication of any further interest in the account. It is highly problematic to judge Glanvill's ideals on these relations given his passive involvement with these reports. The publisher's account implies that Glanvill received a large number of relations from a variety of sources, and we have no indication of Glanvill's interest in or opinion of these relations.

No evident Glanvill involvement: There is no mention of Glanvill's involvement in the collection or investigation of these relations in the text of the relation or the relevant advertisement. These are demonstrably gathered by More and we have no indication of Glanvill's interest in or opinion of these relations. Highly problematic to judge Glanvill's ideals on these relations.

Table 4 Analysis of the Continuation of the Collection [of Relations] from the *Saducismus triumphatus* (1682) 2nd edition, WingG823

		More's Direct Source for Relations						Type of Evidence More Used				Type of Event			Date of Event			
Additional Relation No.																		
Incorporated by More																		
		Plot, <i>Natural History of Oxford</i> (1677)																
		Sinclair, <i>Hydrostatics</i> (1672)																
		Dr [Thomas] Willis																
		Dr G. Burnet																
		Mr Richardson																
		Unnamed source																
		Printed source																
		Direct testimony from witness																
		Letters with indirect witness account																
		Oral reports/ testimonies																
		Possession																
		Ghost/apparition																
		Haunted House/Poltergeist																
		1670s																
		1660s																
		1650s																
		Pre 1650																
1.	•	•		•				•				•						•
2.	•	•						•							•			
3.	•		•		•			•		•					•			
4.	•					•				•			•	•	•			
5.	•					•			•	•				•	•			
6.	•						•		•			•				•		

Table 5 Relations from Sinclair’s *Satan’s Invisible World Discovered* (1685) Correlated with Relations from the *Saducismus triumphatus* (1682)

	<i>Satan’s Invisible World Discovered</i> (1685)	<i>Saducismus triumphatus</i> (1682)
1.	1	Relation 28
2.	2	More’s Letter to Glanvill, 25 May 1678, ST82_WingG823_3.
3.	3	Advertisement following Relation 28
4.	5	Relation 19 (transcribed)
5.	6	ST82 Continuation Relation 1 (transcribed)
6.	8	Relation 10 (transcribed)
7.	10	Relation 1 (transcribed)
	11	Originally reported as Observation XX, in Sinclair’s <i>The Hydrostatics</i> (1672). Then reproduced in the Continuation of Relations in ST82_WingG823 as Relation 3.
8.	14	Relation 9
9.	16	Relation 11
10.	18	Relation 16 (transcribed)
11.	19	From the translator’s preface to “An Account of What Happened in The Kingdom Of Sweden”, ST82_WingG823_sig.Cc6v-Cc7v(7).
12.	20	Continuation Relation 6 (transcribed)
13.	28	“A Relation of the strange Witchcraft discovered in the Village Mohra in Swedeland” (incompletely transcribed)

Table 6 Publication History of Glanvill’s Essays and Sermons

Essays and Sermons That Exist As Individual Items	Collections in Which Glanvill's Essays and Sermons Appear*		
	<i>Essays, 1676.</i> Essays76_WingG809*	<i>Seasonable Reflections, 1676.</i> SR76_WingG830*	<i>Some Discourses, 1681.</i> Discourses81_WingG831*†
<i>Scepsis scientifica</i> , 1665. SS65_WingG827	Essay I: Against Confidence in Philosophy		
“Reply to the Exceptions of the Learned Thomas Albius,” originally appended to SS65_WingG827	Essay II: Of Scepticism and Certainty		
<i>Plus ultra</i> , 1668. PU68_WingG820	Essay III: Modern Improvements of Knowledge		
<i>Philosophia pia</i> , 1671. PP71_WingG817	Essay IV: The Usefulness of Philosophy to Theology		
<i>Logou threskeia</i> , 1670. LTD67_WingG813A	Essay V: The Agreement of Reason, and Religion		
<i>A Philosophical Endeavour</i> , 1666. PC67_Wing G832	Essay VI: Against Sadducism in the Matter of Witchcraft		
“Bensalem,” un-published, The University of Chicago, Joseph Regenstein Library, MS.913	Essay VII: Antifanatick Theology, and Free Philosophy		
		Sermon I: The Sin and Danger of Scoffing at Religion	Sermon IV: The Sin and Danger of Scoffing at Religion
<i>A Seasonable Defence of Preaching</i> , 1678. SDP78_WingG829		Sermon II: The Church’s Contempt from Prophane and Fanatick Enemies	Sermon V: The Church’s Prayer, and Complaint of Contempt from Prophane and Fanatick Enemies
		Sermon III: Moral Evidence of a Life to Come	Sermon VI: Moral Evidence of a Life to Come
		Sermon IV: The Serious Consideration of the Future Judgement	Sermon VII: The Serious Consideration of the Future Judgement
<i>The Way of Happiness</i> , 1677. WOH77_WingG836			Sermon I: The Way of Happiness
<i>Catholick Charity</i> , 1669. CC69_WingG801			Sermon II: Catholick Charity. Preach’d to the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen of London
<i>A Loyal Tear</i> , 1667. LTD67_WingG813A			Sermon III: Christian Loyalty. Preach’d on the King’s Martydome

* Some items included in these collections of were reproduced as per the original text, others were revised. Items not listed here are unique to that collection.

† The sermons in Some Discourses are numbered I—XI, but there are actually only ten sermons. There is no sermon VIII and no missing pages between sermons VII and IX.

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